THE

WEST INDIA COLONIES;

THE

CALUMNIES AND MISREPRESENTATIONS

CIRCULATED AGAINST THEM

BY

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, MR. CLARKSON, MR. CROPPER,

&c. &c.

EXAMINED AND REFUTED,

BY JAMES M'QUEEN.

"Speak of 'THEM AS THEY ARE;' nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice."

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND SOLD BY BLACKWOOD AND CO. EDINBURGH;
JOHN SMITH AND SON, AND JAS. BRASH AND CO. GLASGOW;
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1824.

J. S. Brickwood, Printer, 47, Threadneedle-Street.

TO

CHARLES ELLIS, Esq. M. P.

AND

CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE

OF

THE WEST INDIA PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS,

LONDON,

THIS WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT

HUMBLE SERVANT,

JAMES M'QUEEN.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
Associates of the Boston Public Library / The Boston Foundation

http://www.archive.org/details/westindiacolonie00macq

PREFACE.

THE imminent danger which at present threatens our West India Colonies; the vast importance of these possessions in the agricultural, commercial, and political scale; the dreadful misrepresentations scattered abroad against them; and the unmitigated, unmerited, and degrading charges heaped upon the character and the conduct of the whole class of West India proprietors, renders it an imperious duty on the part of every one who has any regard for the character or safety of his country, and who may be acquainted with the real state of affairs in the Colonies, to lay the truth before the public. Having no stake whatever in the West Indies, actuated only by a regard for truth, and love for my country, without any interest to serve, or resentment to gratify; but not shrinking from a subject

for the present so unpopular, I have presumed to lay before the world the following sheets. With what success I have defended the cause of these valuable and much injured possessions, it is for the public to determine.

It was not my intention, and it is far from my thoughts, to hurt the personal feelings of any man, or any body of men, who on these subjects may differ from me in opinion. I deprecate and disclaim any such objects. On the subjects in dispute, because I feel strongly, I have spoken my sentiments freely, but not disrespectfully or offensively, nor in stronger language than the statements put forward by the anti-Colonists *(more especially their anonymous writers)* have appeared to warrant, or the importance of the subject to require. Where the names of individuals have unavoidably been introduced, I have to state that my observations and censures apply only to their public conduct, writings, and proceedings, connected with this important discussion. The benevolent intentions of multitudes who take a different view of the subject

from what I do, cannot be doubted, and deserve the highest praise. But they have been misled, and unless they attend to truth, their exertions in the cause of humanity may be attended with fatal results. It is to those secret informers and anonymous writers who have misled them, that my strongest and severest censures apply.

An enemy to personal Slavery in the abstract, still I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that it has always existed, and still exists to a prodigious extent amongst mankind. Much as I should rejoice to see only freemen—men capable of enjoying freedom in every country on earth, still I am not so sanguine as to imagine or to believe, that either the present generation, or the children's children of the present generation, will witness that consummation. It is because I am an enemy to Slavery, that I would oppose the rash, unjust, and dangerous measures now proposed for the abolition of personal Slavery in the West Indies, measures which, whatever the authors of them intend, will make the *freemen* in these possessions *Slaves*, and give the rein to bar-

barism to trample down—to extirpate civilization.

Genuine Christianity will accomplish, and it only can accomplish, what its Great Author intended, namely, such a reformation (where reformation is sought) in the human character and manners as would lead to a safe amelioration in political institutions, and a more equal distribution of civil rights amongst nations; such amelioration as will raise the Slave to freedom, with the master's consent, as soon as the Slave shall be fitted to make a proper use of that freedom. Every other interference with political institutions and municipal rights, Christianity condemns. "Do ye unto others whatsoever things ye would that others should do unto you," is the Christian rule; but our modern reformers and emancipators forget that the *text* has a CONTEXT which imperatively enjoins, that before we judge and condemn, we should endeavour to place ourselves in the situation of those whom we are about to judge and condemn, and then remember and be guided by the Divine law;

and further, our anti-Colonists should remember that this injunction was laid *upon Slaves* as well as upon masters, and that it is equally binding upon both. It is through a diffusion of true knowledge that we can alone look to bring about emancipation. This mode requires no accusation—no defamation—no declamation—no misrepresentation—no injustice. We have the example and commands of our SAVIOUR and his Apostles to guide us in such matters, and let us follow HIS and *their* footsteps and commands, rather than the footsteps and commands (I mean no reflections upon the creeds or the understandings) of Mr. Buxton, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Stephen, and Mr. Clarkson, however specious their professions, or respectable their character.

In an enlightened and intelligent country like this, it is truly surprising that the real situation of the West India Colonies, with which we have so long had such frequent intercourse, should be so little known, and so easily and so grossly misrepresented. Yet so it is. But the system of delusion which has so long been employed to

defame the inhabitants of those countries is approaching its termination. The veil is rent asunder—truth will prevail. The people of this generous nation, misled by the perversion and misapplication of the sacred names of liberty and humanity, will return—are already *returning* to the path of reason and justice, with the resolution to protect, not to devote to misery—despair—destruction, their fellow-countrymen, in those distant but most valuable portions of our dominions. This generous nation and enlightened people will, I feel confident, no longer endure that unfair and unchristianlike system, which, upon insulated and exaggerated acts of cruelty and oppression, condemns and consigns to infamy and ruin a whole community—they will no more, I repeat, endure and tolerate this system, than they would endure that the general character of Britons should be judged by the actions and conduct of a Thurtell, a Probert, and a Hunt, or by the conduct of those individuals who, while they branded with every crime innocent West India Colonists, eulogized the

character of the most cold-blooded murderer that ever stained the annals of the criminal calendar of this country.

The enlightened statesmen who guide the affairs of this mighty nation, cannot fail to perceive that the crude schemes of our anti-Colonists if carried into execution, would lead to the loss of the West India Colonies. Insurrection and rebellion might, I allow, be put down by the mighty power of Great Britain; but if the property is destroyed by internal convulsion, it can never be replaced or restored; and after putting down these insurrections, Great Britain would find that she only ruled over unproductive lands. But even without insurrections, emancipation would destroy the credit—the capital, which have hitherto carried on the agriculture of the Colonies. After what has already taken place, the British Government will find it a more difficult business to restore that credit, without which cultivation cannot go on in the Islands, than to reconquer the Colonies, were the whole of them in open rebellion. This is a

point which may now be ridiculed, and passed over as undeserving of notice, but a short period will bring it full in the face of the governors and the governed, in all its appalling reality. With ten sail of the line, and 40,000 troops—and an additional expense of three millions annually, this country may keep emancipated negroes in subjection, and obtain from the proceeds of their labour the produce of the few Cotton and Coffee bushes at present growing in our Colonies (even could their produce be guarded from the Americans), but she would obtain from them nothing more.

From the events passing in other countries let us learn wisdom. Some years ago the Emperor Alexander decreed the emancipation of the *villeins*, or slaves, in the Polish provinces bordering upon Russia Proper. The order was obeyed, but mark the consequences—the masters were all ruined, and the slaves left without means or credit. The master who previously had an income of £10,000, was left with less than a twentieth part of that sum. For his land

he could get no rent from miserable people who had nothing to give, and neither the inclination nor the means of earning wherewithal to pay rent. Where the ample fortune of the master had enabled him previously in cases of necessity, to provide for his Slaves, he had no longer the means nor an interest to do so, and the consequence has been, that the lands have remained either ill-cultivated, or wholly barren, and *tens of thousands* of the emancipated Slaves (unwilling to work) have been swept away by famine, and extreme misery covers whole provinces once flourishing. These facts may be ascertained by any one who will take the trouble to inquire; and if such were the results in Russian Poland, where 500,000 bayonets kept down open revolt, how much more dreadful will the consequences be of emancipating the African Slaves in our West India Colonies?

Without a single inquiry or investigation—without duly considering how emancipation was to be effected, or what would be the result of of emancipation to the important interests in-

volved in that great revolution in the frame of society in the Colonies, Mr. Buxton, *hurried* on himself, has precipitated his country into a situation from which her wisest and her boldest statesmen must shudder to go forward, and be perplexed how to turn back.

The labours of the ant and the bee have been held up by moralists as examples to teach mankind wisdom and industry. Both, but more especially the latter, may, in this case, teach statesmen a lesson, and prove a sure guide to estimate the productive labour and industry of the sluggish uncivilized natives of the torrid zone, when not directed by civilized knowledge. Take the bee from Britain to the West Indies, and for the first year, during the summer months, it continues to amass its stores, and provide for approaching winter; finding, however, no winter, and that supplies of food can be had at all seasons, it relaxes its industry, and ceases, as in Europe, to collect a store; it adopts the character of an inhabitant of the torrid zone, and

the mere food for the day is all that is sought after.

A good deal has been said about the violence with which the Colonial Legislatures have met this important question. Before we judge their proceedings, we must first endeavour to place ourselves in their situation. Their greatest, and their only error, is in having identified the executive government of the mother country with the formidable anti Colonial party lately sprung up in it. Now, considering the conduct and proceedings of the leaders and prompters of this party—considering that they had described the Colonists to be "*white savages*," &c. &c.—men fit to be placed without the protection of law—that this party called—*call* upon the Legislature and the Government of the country, to annihilate and take away the privileges and rights which, as British subjects, the Colonists are entitled to possess—and considering, further, that this party, by every means in their power, have taught the Slaves in these Colonies that their masters are their oppressors, not their protectors,

and that, consequently, the nation ought to emancipate the whole of them, passing, as lightly as possible, over the word compensation—considering all these things—considering that the Colonists saw (if I may use the expressions) the hand of the robber at their pockets, and the dagger of the assassin at their bosoms, no wonder that their representations were strong, and their voice loud. They would have been unworthy the name of Britons, if they had not complained, and made their complaints reach the mother country with the utmost speed, energy, and strength. Yet, after all, what are their proceedings, complaints, and resolutions, when compared with the proceedings, complaints, and resolutions at public meetings in this country, extolled to the skies by those very men, who are the foremost on this occasion to condemn with unqualified reprobation the conduct of our persecuted and calumniated Colonies?

The British agriculturists settled in the Colonies hold, and *must* continue to hold their

property as matter of RIGHT. They will never condescend to enter the lists with those who insist that they hold, and must only hold it as a matter of FAVOUR.

If the existence of personal Slavery in any part of our dominions is become so obnoxious to our constitution and laws, that it must be abrogated, and equal political rights bestowed upon every class in our dominions, then let those laws, which instituted Slavery as advantageous to the national interests, do it away by paying the value of the property. Whenever the legislature of this country, from motives of policy and regard to civil rights, determines that this should be done, I, for one, shall willingly pay my quota of the tax, but let it not be demanded, because the Slaves in our Colonies are illegally held as Slaves, or treated with cruelty and oppression, which is not the case.

With regard to our valuable possessions in the East Indies, I esteem them as highly as either Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Cropper, or Mr. Stephen can do. They are a bright gem in the

British crown, and may, I humbly conceive, be rendered still more valuable, by laying that trade open to British subjects, which is free to every foreigner. Where I have spoken of these possessions, or those connected with the direction of them with asperity, it has been forced from me in argument, and in order to meet with facts the thoughtless and injudicious comparisons, brought forward by men, who call themselves their advocates, but who are actuated by principles alike hostile to ALL our Colonial possessions; and whose formidable machinery, fairly put in motion, will overturn from its foundations the mighty power of Britain in India, and then coolly tell us it is a punishment from Heaven for our national misdeeds—the scape-goat of all injudicious and ignorant reformers. The government at present established in India, is, considering every circumstance the best that could be instituted in a country so demoralized and disorganized. It is the best that could be established to bring peace and security to the afflicted people, the prey of ignorant tyrants—it is the best

calculated, I believe, to bring order out of confusion, and pave the way for the introduction of true knowledge; but let the prompters of the African Institution once get a footing either in India or in Leadenhall-street—let but a few such "good men" as lately *enlightened* Demerara, have liberty to exercise their talents on the banks of the Ganges, and the prophecy of the Edinburgh Review would be realized—we should lose our Indian Empire as quickly "*as a frigate or a fort.*" Even Mr. Stephen himself feels no small degree of alarm on this subject, and gives our Statesmen fair warning, "Let any Statesman," says he, "turn his eyes to our *enormous* wide extended possessions in the East; which *every maritime State* beholds with an envy undisguised, and where FRANCE will no longer have to direct her means of annoyance for purposes of defence," &c. Aye, let the would-be-Statesmen among us turn their eyes and contemplate this prospect, and learn therefrom not to endanger or destroy our West India Colonies by their crude speculations.

It would be a waste of time further to follow Mr. Stephen's wild lucubrations. I shall now leave them, after briefly noticing one more of his recommendations. He calls upon the British Parliament to "cease impotently and mischievously to *recommend,* and begin at length to ORDAIN" *his laws for the Colonies.* Whenever the British Parliament begins to follow Mr. Stephen's advice, and "ORDAIN" that British subjects shall no longer have a voice in directing, regulating, and preserving their property, from that moment we are all Slaves—the principle may, with equal justice be applied to himself—to every one of us, and we should have a government armed with the same powers as a Napoleon, a Tamerlane, or a Zenghis Khan; and who, being no more interested in our personal comfort, safety, and prosperity, than those tyrants were in the safety and prosperity of their subjects, might, after the example of those great personages, doom us to be "*food for cannon*" or for the sword.

The principles recommended by Mr. Stephen

will, if inforced, raze from its place the foundation stone of the British Constitution. These principles drove James II. from his throne, and brought Charles the I. to the scaffold, and enabled a parcel of canting hypocrites, during their day, to trample upon a mighty nation. Mr. Stephen may advocate such principles, and broach such doctrines, but he is not prime minister of Great Britain. If he was, it is evident that by unconstitutional conduct, he would raise a tempest which would sweep him from his place in a moment.

Mr. Stephen may also possess that nerve and temerity which would induce him to set his foot upon the neck of *an eighth part* of the population of the United Kingdom, and annihilate their property; but I feel convinced that there is not yet born in Great Britain, another Statesman, who dare even to hint that such are his feelings and intentions.

To the sneers which Mr. Stephen and his colleagues throw out about the trifling amount of the British exports to the West India Islands,

the reply is very short. By the evidence taken before the House of Commons, 1806, it clearly appeared that the expense of cultivating each cwt. of Sugar, cost in the Leeward Islands, 19*s.* 6*d.* and in Jamaica, 20*s.* 6*d.* Now, these Colonies produce in round numbers 4,000,000 cwts. Sugar, consequently here is a consumption of £4,000,000 British exports in one shape or another, independent of what is consumed on cotton, coffee, and cocoa plantations and other ways.

In page 199 I have stated the exports of *Hayti* in coffee as being under 20,000,000 lbs. At that time I had no accurate data to guide me in the exports to Continental Europe. The London general mercantile returns for last year, if correct, which I shall assume, supply that deficiency and increase the quantity exported. It will stand thus:—

Page 199.	British and Americans, take....	13,057,177 lbs.
	Continental Europe, 1822.....	19,577,600
	Total	33,634,777 lbs.

Half the quantity imported into Continental Europe was into France. In the above, how-

ever, it must be recollected the exports from the Spanish part of St. Domingo are included. What these are I know not, but they must be considerable. *Only* 270 tons of Sugar were imported into Continental Europe from St. Domingo last year.

The powerfullest states in South America also sink into insignificance before our West India Colonies. *Colombia*, with a population of 3,000,000, does not export and import one half the amount that Demarara and Essequibo with a population of only 83,000 do. Mexico, the richest and most powerful state in South America, contains 7,000,000 of inhabitants. The average exports and imports for fifteen years ending 1820 were as under :—

Imports from all parts, annually		£2,763,725
Exports to all parts, specie....	£2,355,262	
Ditto Produce	838,532	
		3,193,794

The whole host of the enemies of our Colonies alternately boast and threat about the great sum this country pays annually for bounty upon Sugar, which by-the-bye the East Indies enjoy, or *may* enjoy, as well as the West. Let us exa-

mine and see what this great sum is. This bounty or drawback is only paid on what is exported, and at the rate of 3*s.* per cwt. The quantity exported last year of refined, when reduced into the raw material upon which the bounty is calculated, was 790,600 cwt., the bounty on which will stand thus:—

790,600 cwt. at 3*s.* £118,590

Against which we have to set—

Revenue from 4½ per Cents.	£ 48,000
Charge of duty on deficiency of strength and quantity of Rum in bond, equal to £2 per puncheon on an average—this on 50,000 puncheons is	100,000
	£148,000

or a gain of £30,000 to this country. Can Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Cropper, or Mr. Stephen deny these facts?—and till they can do so, let them keep silence about the loss Great Britain sustains by the trifling bounty paid upon West India Sugar when exported.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Former opinions of the Review on West India Subjects—complete change.—East India Sugar.—Erroneous statements regarding it.—The mode of manufacturing it.—Small quantity produced.—The high price and bad quality.—Loss this Country would sustain by using it.—Attempts to cultivate Sugar in India in the West India mode.—Failure and loss to the Company.—Ad valorem *duty wanted.—Absurd calculations and statements, by Mr. Cropper.—Right of West Indians to protection; East India Company admit.—Parliament determine the question in their favour* ..... Page 1

CHAPTER II.

East and West Indies—political constitutions totally different.—Mis-statements of Mr. Clarkson regarding the expense of each to Great Britain.—Trade, East Indies and China.—Trade, West Indies.—Great superiority of the latter.—Deceptions in the Parliamentary returns on these heads.—How India may be benefitted, and the West Indies not injured.

Misrepresentations of the Review and Mr. Cropper regarding the Indian trade, examined and exposed. Trade, United States to Canton almost equal to that of Great Britain.—Absurd regulations of East India Company, &c. 51

CHAPTER III.

West Indies charged with continuing the African Slave Trade.—Refuted from Official Documents.—Foreign Slave Trade.—Great extent—extended, not diminished.—Ruin to our Colonies.—Wrong method chosen to suppress it.—Sierra Leone.—Immense expense it has cost this country.—Yields nothing, &c. &c. 78

CHAPTER IV.

Statements of the anti-Colonists that Sugar is cultivated in India by free men instead of Slaves.—Not correct. —Slaves in India—the cultivators of the soil.—Females sold as Slaves for the purpose of prostitution. This practice common in the East.—Miserable situation of the free farmers in India.—Wretched state of their Slaves.—The numbers of the latter very great.—Hard labour—bad food—herd with cattle. —Inflammatory and deceitful statements of the Reviewer, Mr. Clarkson, and Mr. Cropper, on these points, as directed against our West India Colonies, examined and refuted...... 92

CHAPTER V.

Pamphlet of Mr. Clarkson.—Unfounded and grievous calumnies.—Their falsehood exposed.—Statement of Clarkson and others, that to hold or to own Slaves constitutes a crime in the eyes of Heaven. —Examined and refuted from both the Old and New Testament.—Slaves in our Colonies asserted to have been obtained by Violence, "stolen," *and consequently title to them illegal.—The Trade in which they were obtained shewn to have been formerly legal, both by the laws of this country and of Africa. —Origin of Slavery.—Laws and practice of the Jews concerning it.— Prisoners of war sold as Slaves.—Great extent and long standing of the trade in Africa.—Europeans found the Trade—did not create it.—Proofs from Report Committee of Privy Council,* 1789, *and from various authorities, to shew the legality of the Trade.—Its prevalence in Africa.— Who are made Slaves there.—Criminals, debtors, and prisoners of War.—Cruelty of the African Princes.—Kill or sacrifice the Prisoners they cannot sell.—Mr. Clarkson's false statements on these Points refuted, &c. &c.* 119

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Clarkson's and the Reviewer's statements of the success of free labour by emancipated Slaves examined and refuted—has every where failed.—In Sierra Leone.—Miserable state of that place—Trade thereof

—deceptions practised upon this country regarding it.—A great burden to us—yields no returns.—American negroes set free in TRINIDAD*—interesting and important account—their character—work little—great expense of their labour—cannot be depended upon in any way—cultivation of Sugar cannot be carried on with them.—*TORTOLA *negroes set free by Mr. Nottingham, and the apprenticed Africans.—Gross mis-statements put forward regarding them by Mr. Clarkson and the African Institution.—Cultivate no produce for exportation—A striking instance of the fallacy of the arguments of the Emancipation Society exhibited in the state of these very people, &c.* 151

CHAPTER VII.

St. Domingo—adduced by Mr. Clarkson as a proof of the blessings and advantages of negroe emancipation —his accounts relative to it in every point at variance with historical facts.—True account of the rise and progress of the insurrection in it.—Horrid cruelties.—Island totally ruined.—British expedition there in 1795.*—Forced to abandon it.—Its former state and trade.—Its present state and trade, from official and authentic documents.—Striking contrast... Miserable state of the country compared to what it formerly was.—Immoral and debased and degraded state of its population.—Sinking fast into their original barbarism.—Productive industry on the lowest scale, &c. &c.* 176

CHAPTER VIII.

Emancipation of the negroes in Cayenne.—Fatal consequences to themselves and to the cultivation.—Both ruined.—The same consequences ensued in Gaudaloupe during the Rights of Man.—The same in Grenada.—Steele's scheme in Barbadoes a delusion and deception.—Natural and political causes occasioned the increased returns of his estates.—Disbanded West India Black Soldiers—their bad character.—Mr. Clarkson's singular argument, that if we emancipate our Colonial Slaves, the Slave Trade, and Slavery throughout the World, will be rooted out. 210

CHAPTER IX.

Daring calumnies of the Abolition Society and their writers.—The Rev. Mr. Cooper's statements—his conduct and proceedings examined and exposed.—Mr. John Meabry's hideous charges refuted upon oath.—Affidavit, Mr. Robertson, Jamaica, on this head—important.—Shameless and dangerous system of ESPIONAGE *carried on by the African Institution against the West India Colonies.—Dangerous proceedings of their spies and informers—attended with the most ruinous consequences, &c.* 220

CHAPTER X.

MANIFESTO *of the abolition society.—Examined point by point.—Their charges refuted in every instance.*

—True state of our West India Colonies, and the treatment of our negroes in these possessions most particularly stated.—Marriages.—Religious instruction and establishments.—Population of these Colonies—their labour—their food—their clothing—their houses—their property—their punishments—fixed by law, &c.—Scandalous mis-statements, and calumnies, advanced under these heads against the Colonies, by the Review, Mr. Clarkson, and others. 244

CHAPTER XI.

Slavery as it formerly existed in Europe and in England.—Numerous important facts kept out of view by the anti-Colonists.—Negroes dislike innovations.—Instance of emancipated negroes in Tortola declining agricultural labour.—Spanish Colonial system strangely adduced as an example for Great Britain to imitate.—Emancipated Slaves in United States.—Their wretched state and bad character.—Enfranchisement of Slaves in Colombia misrepresented.—How effected—Importation of Slaves still continued by the United States.—Disingenuous proceedings of the anti-Colonists.—Buxton's motion.—The time they appoint for complete emancipation. 308

CHAPTER XII.

Immense stake at issue on this question.—English laws constitute Slaves property.—African Institu-

tion may civilize Africa without injuring the West Indies.—Great property of West India proprietors.—Productive industry of our Colonies, contrasted with that of the Mother Country and other places.—France and United States watching our conduct, and rejoicing at our errors.—Dangerous state of the Colonies.—Prompt and decided measures necessary for their preservation.—Government of the Colonies must not be taken out of the hands of the executive government.—Concluding observations.—Further exposure of the system of espionage and calumny carried on by the anti-Colonists.—Mr. Stephen's new publication—Negroe Slavery—general features of it. 341

APPENDIX.

Four and Half per Cent. Duties—how applied.—Official Returns of the Imports and Exports of the East and the West Indies, for Nine Years, ending 1822.—Mr. Steele, *Barbadoes—further and interesting particulars, &c. &c.* 409

ERRATA.

Page 137, line 1, for "practices" read "*practice is.*"

Page 248, note, line 5 from the bottom, for "valuable" read "*value of.*"

THE

WEST INDIA COLONIES, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Former opinions of the Review on West India Subjects—complete change.—East India Sugar.—Erroneous statements regarding it.—The mode of manufacturing it.—Small quantity produced.—The high price and bad quality.—Loss this Country would sustain by using it.—Attempts to cultivate Sugar in India in the West India mode.—Failure and loss to the Company.—Ad valorem *duty wanted.—Absurd calculations and statements, by Mr. Cropper.—Right of West Indians to protection; East India Company admit.—Parliament determine the question in their favour.*

"MOST of our political and *critical writers* have now relieved themselves from the burden of all *moral responsibility.* TRUTH, consistency, and sincerity, are all of no moment. *The object is to bite, strike, and cut.* Good faith

is another name for sincerity. Wanting that, *what is talent, what is genius?* Bad faith is another name for *dishonesty.* It leads a man to say what he does not think; *to write what he does not believe* *."

The writer of the preceding sentences is understood to be a contributor to the Edinburgh Review, (particularly on Colonial subjects,) and no where are the truths here conveyed more strongly and strikingly exemplified, than in the columns of that Journal, in all that relates to Colonial matters. Of late years, "The Edinburgh Review and Critical Journal," departing from its *first* faith, has stood the foremost in the ranks of the calumniators and assailants of those unfortunate Colonies. It is the Quarterly *tri-coloured* flag of misrepresentation and mischief, —"the Ajax of the party of anti-colonists whose labours in the prosecution and support (judging from their public writings and proceedings) of their darling objects, political reveries, and trading theories, would strip their fellow subjects of their property, and thereby undermine—*destroy,* the glory, strength, security, and independence of their country.

Is the public mind to be irritated, inflamed, misled;—are facts to be misrepresented, and

* *Scotsman*, Nov. 28, 1818.

truth concealed;—are official documents to be garbled and mutilated;—is a valuable portion and important bulwark of our Empire to be calumniated and libelled preparatory to an attempt to annihilate the property of their population;—are all these things to be effected? then, "relieved from the burden of all moral responsibility," the Edinburgh Reviewers step eagerly forward to perform the task, and in doing so, they, with their characteristic assurance, tell their superiors in rank—their equals in property and privileges, that they are "*a few improvident merchants and mortgagees*," the "scanty dregs of the European population *;" or as the *great Parent* of the Review, with that *meekness* for which he is so distinguished, more strongly expresses it—"*the vilest and grossest* rabble that ever deserved the name of human population †!"

In this dangerous warfare the critic has numerous allies. Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Cropper, and a numerous body of anonymous writers ape their superiors, and league themselves in array against our *devoted* Colonies. To these I may add, and I add with regret, the name of WILBERFORCE, whose better judgment is misled by

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 19, p. 196, &c.

† Brougham's Speech, House of Commons, June 19, 1816.—*Morning Chronicle*, June 20.

the interested speculators and thoughtless popularity hunters who surround him, and whose mantle ere his departure hence, and in violation of the tenth commandment, Mr. Buxton, has stepped forward to claim as his right, and to "*covet*" as his province to wear.

Whether the writer in the Review performs his task from ignorance or design, or from both, the sequel will enable us more clearly to determine.

In examining and exposing the calumnies and misrepresentations brought forward by the Reviewer and his associates, the public has a right to expect that whatever is stated shall be proved. They shall not be disappointed, for reference can be had on every point to authorities which cannot be doubted, and as we proceed, these will multiply and accumulate.

Before entering upon this part of the subject, however, it may not be amiss to give the reader an opportunity of judging what the opinion of the Edinburgh Review formerly was upon these important subjects. The annexed references will do this clearly and correctly; and we scarcely think the believers in the Review will venture to state that the present critics are greater and abler men than the writer of the passages extracted, namely, the author of Colonial Policy, *generally believed* to be Mr. Brougham.—

"The Negroes are truly the Jacobins of the West India Islands. They are the anarchists, the terrorists, the domestic enemy. Against them it becomes rival nations to combine, and hostile Governments to coalesce. They are a foe more to be dreaded than Turk or Tartar.—We detest the odious traffic which has poured myriads of Africans into the Antilles; but we must be permitted to feel some tenderness for our European brethren, although they are white and civilized, and to deprecate that inconsistent spirit of canting philanthropy, which, in Europe, is only excited by the wrongs and miseries of the poor and the profligate; and on the other side of the Atlantic is never warmed but towards the savage, the mulatto, and the slave".—(*Rev.* vol. 1. p. 227.)

"The voyage across the Atlantic will neither change the colour of the Ethiopian, nor civilize him, nor alter his habits of indolence, nor inspire him with a love of voluntary labour. We consider our Author's scheme of cultivation by free Negroes to be *impracticable;* and for this we are easily consoled, by a conviction, that if carried into effect, it would be infinitely more dangerous, and scarcely less cruel, than the old system itself, with all its perils and horrors. It must either lead to the dominion of the cart-whip, or induce the INSURRECTION OF THE AFRICANS".—*Edin. Rev.* vol. 1, p. 235 & 237.

"All subordinate arrangements are better left to the Colonial Legislatures. All the individuals who form the assemblies are concerned in the increase and preservation of the Negro stock; in the improvement of the whole Colonial society; and in the gradual reformation of the general system. Of their superior ability to devise and execute such measures, we cannot entertain the smallest doubt. They are men intimately acquainted with every minute branch of Colonial affairs, and accustomed, from their earliest years, to meditate upon no other subjects. They reside in the heart of the system for which their plans are laid, and on which the success of every experiment is to be tried. To revise the domestic codes of the Colonies, would be a task which no European government could undertake. Let this branch of the Imperial Administration, then, be left to the care of those who are themselves the most immediately interested in the good government of the distant provinces, and whose knowledge of local circumstances, of these things which cannot be written down in reports, nor told by witnesses, is more full and practical. Without pretending to dispute the supremacy of the Mother Country, we may be allowed to doubt her omniscience; and the Colonial history of modern Europe, may well change our doubts into disbelief. Without standing up for the Colonies, we may suggest their more intimate ac-

quaintance with the details of the question. The only task for the Colonial Governments will be, to regulate the relative rights of the two classes, to prepare the civilization of the subordinate race, and to check those cruelties which may still appear IN A FEW INSTANCES OF INDIVIDUAL INHUMANITY AND IMPOLICY.—*Edin. Rev.* vol. 2; *and Colonial Policy, by Mr. Brougham*, vol. 2, p. 502—505.

" It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the advocates for the abolition of the Slave Trade, MOST CORDIALLY REPROBATE all idea of emancipating the Slaves that are ALREADY in our plantations. Such a scheme indeed is sufficiently answered by the story of the Galley-Slaves in Don Quixote; and we are persuaded, never had any place in the minds of those enlightened and judicious persons who have contended for the abolition with so much meritorious perseverance."—*Rev.* vol. 4, p. 477.

" With any other class of Colonial population, enfranchised Africans can never coalesce."—*Rev.* vol. 5. p. 236.

" Whether all the MISCHIEF OF NEGRO LIBERTY comes at once, or falls upon the system with an instantaneous shock, or only UNDERMINES IT GRADUALLY, and then covers it with ruin in the end, we need scarcely take the pains to enquire; the alternative is almost equal."—As independent bodies, " no civilized Government CAN LISTEN TO AN ALLIANCE WITH THEM."—*Rev.* vol. 6, p. 341.

" No man is INSANE enough in these times to speak of emancipating the Slaves."—*Edin. Rev.* vol. 19, p. 341.

" The West India Colonies are of great importance in extending the manufactures and commerce of the Mother Country. It is difficult to find any engine MORE EFFICIENT for the purpose. Possessing them, has occasioned a POURING in of wealth into this country, much of which was employed in fertilizing the soil. The wealth received from the Dutch and other islands was, in fact, visible on WHOLE DISTRICTS of the country, not only from the money expended, but in the very names of the spots brought into cultivation."—*Speech, House of Commons* (*Mr. Brougham,*) *April* 9, 1816.

" Each attempt of the enemy in St. Domingo, or EACH EFFORT of the Slaves themselves to imitate the example of that settlement WILL SHAKE TO ITS BASE the whole Western wing of the European community, till in the course of a few years, the frail tenure will give way on which we hold THOSE FINE POSSESSIONS; and all the monuments of the European name in the southern part of the New World will vanish before the tempest. The real question in many a thinking man's mind is, how long they will

suffer us to exist in the New World? All the arguments in the brains of a thousand metaphysicians will never explain away these facts."—*Edin. Rev.* vol. 6, p. 340, and 346.

It could scarcely have been expected that the Critic's opinions and sentiments on these momentous questions, would have run, as they have done, so soon to the opposite extreme.

Following the interested but thoughtless opinion of Mr. CROPPER, who asserts in his work, p. 46, that the East Indies "can grow Sugar sufficient for the consumption of all the world, and at half the price at which it is produced in the West," the Reviewer is led into a fatal error. The very peremptory and authoritative manner in which this is repeated and assiduously circulated, in order to mislead this country, and induce the Government to adopt measures which would ruin the West India Colonies, renders it necessary to examine this point strictly, in order to shew its fallacy—its absurdity—its mischief.

Instead of Sugar being raised to the extent stated in India, the fact, on examination, will be found to be, that it is raised but in a very limited quantity. Instead of being produced at an extraordinary cheap rate, it is certain, that every where it costs more than it does either in the West India Colonies, or other Colonial Possessions of Foreign Powers. Instead of being exported to supply the demand of the world, it

will be found to be perfectly notorious, that it is not raised in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of Eastern countries, in the vicinity of India, which yield none; nay, not even to supply the internal consumption of India itself, into which a large quantity of Sugar is imported from other places in the Eastern world. Instead of being raised at a price that enables the East India farmer, or merchant, to undersell all other nations, it will be found to be an incontrovertible fact, that the former are not only in their own markets, but in the markets of every country in the East, undersold by Sugar of a vastly superior quality, brought from Java, Manilla, and China; and last, though not least, that Sugar is made in the East as in the West Indies, by Slaves.

It is not necessary to have recourse to any other authority beyond the official report published by the East India Company themselves, in December 1822, to prove these important truths. Had the Reviewer ever looked into the report in question beyond the page or the passages which at *head-quarters* have in all probability been set down to him, he would have perceived that a regular succession of official documents, continued through a period of thirty-two years, from 1790 to 1823, falsify in the most complete manner, the statements he has been

made the channel to convey. A book, however, containing upwards of five hundred closely printed folio pages, with a variety of intricate arithmetical tables, was no doubt too much for a modern critic to wade through. A report by the East India Company, February 29, 1792, indeed, countenances the delusion, and says that the production of Sugar in Bengal, " is capable of being carried to any extent, for which a demand can be found*." This report, however, it must be recollected, was framed, and this opinion was expressed, immediately after the insurrection in St. Domingo had bared the Sugar market to an extensive degree, when the East India Company conceived that it was a favourable opportunity to turn their attention to their Indian territories, as a quarter from whence the public could look for an adequate supply. Subsequent events shewed the fallacy of their opinions and speculations, and Mr. Pitt at that time, decidedly and justly, resisted every application from them, for introducing the principle of the equalization of duty. His comprehensive mind saw, that by such a principle once established, the West Indies might readily be ruined without benefit to India.

The report distinctly informs us that the ex-

* Official Report, page 2.

treme poverty of the peasantry of India, puts it out of their power to cultivate the Cane without pecuniary assistance. To enable them to do so, they borrow money from Sugar-bakers at a very high rate of interest, and to repay this, they are forced to cut their Canes before they are ripe; thus losing their labour, and destroying the quality of the produce. "Agriculture also has never been carried beyond its first stage in Bengal." The population are ignorant, and averse to innovation. Vast quantities of land remain uncultivated, and though Bengal from extent, might supply all India with Sugar, "yet it is certain that it never has supplied more than *a third of the demand* of those places" immediately adjoining. All the productions are of an inferior quality. In 1821, an order for the shipment of 9000 maunds (6750 cwt.) to England, could not be executed, so deficient was the supply*. The Board of Trade in Bengal, 1792†, deny very pointedly, that India can supply "*any quantity*" of Sugar at a short notice. Casualties of various kinds, and dry weather destroy the crops. In 1793 they report the same, and state, notwithstanding the great demand for Europe, that, "the cultivation had

* Report, pages 13, 44, 97, 107, first Appendix.

† August 31, 1792, Report, p. 70. Comm. to Gov. General.

not kept pace in any considerable degree, with the Company's exports alone;" for as the exports increased, the internal consumption decreased, from the price advancing so high that the poor natives could not afford to buy it *. They give most satisfactory reasons for this; reasons which cannot change till the nature and character of the population of India are changed. "Considering" say they "the general poverty of the people of these provinces, the expense of the cultivation of the Sugar Cane, the length of time before the returns are made, and the several persons whose interests are first affected and benefited, ere the peasant can find his situation bettered, and his means enlarged by the increased price given by the exporter; we are not surprised that the unusual export of these four years past, has not had a greater effect than we experience in extending cultivation."

Upon a further reference to the General Report, not only a confirmation of these facts are obtained, but it is apparent that the Sugar Trade of India with all the countries in the East is declining, and in the most unsatisfactory state, where it might be flourishing; and where, if proper attention were paid, and encouragement given by the government to the cultivation of

* July 22, 1793, p. 241, Report 1st Appendix.

the Cane, they might retain and command the market. The complaints of all the servants of the Company to the Directors on this head, have been loud, strong, and often repeated. Before the capture of Calcutta, 50,000 maunds of Sugar were annually exported to Madras, Bombay, Surat, Muscat, and other parts of the Persian Gulph, and to Mocha and Jidda, for which specie was returned. Subsequently to that event, the exports continued to decline, till in 1776, (so says) the Fort William Revenue Consultations *, it may be doubted if Bengal produces enough for its own consumption. By a succession of absurd restrictions, duties, and political blunders, the Sugar Trade was lost to India. Other nations took it up, and notwithstanding the advantages which Bengal enjoyed over other countries in point of freight alone, the northern parts of India and Arabia, were supplied with Sugar by the Dutch from Batavia, and large quantities were imported into Hindostan from China †.

The loss of the trade produced serious consequences to British India. The west coast of

* Report, 1st Appendix, p. 12.

† 1st Appendix, p. 12, and 4th Appendix, p. 49. The trade thus lost was not recovered at subsequent periods. "The Bombay market," says Mr. Bebb—Memorial to Marquis Cornwallis, July 9, 1780, Report, 1st. App. p. 16, "is supplied with Sugar from China, Manilla, Batavia, as

Hindostan supplies the rest of the continent with cotton, and is consequently the great market for Sugar. There the article "*is a necessary of life* *." It consequently enters into every scheme of trade in that quarter, and while the imports from China increased, (and the more rapidly because Sugar formed ballast for the cotton ships from Canton) the Sugar which these brought was paid for in specie, thus depriving the British Settlements of TEN *lacs* of rupees annually, thereby taking away from the circulating medium instead of adding to it, and leaving the produce raised by the labourers in different other provinces on their hands. Instead of freighting a ship from Bombay to Calcutta, and bringing back Sugar for cotton, the merchant was, in this state of things, compelled to freight a ship from Calcutta with specie, first to Batavia or China, and thence to return to Bombay

well as from Bengal." The Mahrattors, who are great consumers of Sugar, prefer the Bengal Sugars at the same price, but so absurd were the regulations regarding this valuable branch of trade, that according to the Bengal public consultations, Sept 8, 1790, Report, 1st App. p. 18, "the Bengal Sugars paid both in the market of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, as high a duty as Sugar brought from foreign parts, EXCLUSIVE of the duty which might have been levied in the provinces from whence it had been brought, without allowing any bounty or drawback on exportation. Sugar was even imported into Madras from Ceylon, Batavia, China, &c. "We have to deplore an importation of Sugar (1803) from Bombay to the amount of 27,000 Rupees." (4th App. p. 49, Report.)

* Report, 1st Appendix, page 13.

with foreign Sugars to purchase cotton, the produce of his own country, by which mode of conducting the trade it was not only rendered injurious to India, but very complex, tedious, and expensive *.

When the restrictions on the trade to India were *apparently* in some measure relaxed to British subjects trading direct from Britain, all the evils above mentioned were aggravated and increased. The European demand, at Calcutta and Madras, raised the price of Sugar in these markets so high, that the introduction of Sugar from China, Batavia, &c., followed of course, not only into Bombay, but into every part of India, and tended to destroy the trade in Indian Sugars from port to port in India.† In fact, the demand mentioned merely increased the introduction of foreign Sugars into India, not the cultivation of Sugar in that country, much of which Sugar found its way, under the name of Indian Sugar, both into Great Britain and the continent of Europe, to markets glutted and depressed by

* Report, 1st Appendix, page 13.

† As the European demand increased the exports from Calcutta to Bombay, and from Calcutta to the Persian and Arabian Gulphs decreased, the exports to which places had, for some years previous, begun to revive. The diminution of the trade between Calcutta and Bombay in 1817-18 (4th Appendix, Rep. p. 44, 45), both in imports and exports was very considerable. The falling-off in Sugar alone amounted to £38,970. The trade and returns of the Chinese and Batavians were proportionally benefited and rendered more valuable.

Sugars from the foreign West India Colonies. The great number of British ships also which then crowded to these ports, in order to procure freight, were compelled to have recourse to *Khaur*, an inferior kind of Sugar, which rendered their loss in the European market the greater *.

It is very evident, therefore, from these facts, drawn from the official report of the East India Company, that India, so far from producing Sugar sufficient to supply the world, does not produce Sugar sufficient to supply the demand which exists within her own bounds and the other markets which are or might be open to her in the East. Neither can India at present produce any considerable quantity of Sugar. The greatest importation into England from Madras and Bengal, after the utmost exertions were used to procure it, has never exceeded 7,784 tons †.

But the annexed references will place these facts in a clearer light ‡. Besides the Board of

* 4th Appendix, Report, page 43.

† Parliamentary Paper, No. 70, Session 1823.

‡ Appendix 4th, pages 64, 65, 70, 71, 72, and 73.

Years.	Exports, Bengal to Britain.	Imports, Bombay from China.	Exports, India to Britain.
1814–15	£89,825	£126,910	£113,940
1815–16	81,843	148,423	106,108
1816–17	104,371	123,400	114,111
1817–18	125,204	146,888	132,449
1818–19	124,090	245,372	138,978
1819–20	135,442	214,521	224,840

Calculating the Rupee at 2s. each.

Trade of Bengal * tell us, upon the authority of the President of Radnagore, that *three-fifths* of the *Jaggree* produced in that district is consumed in it, and further, that the districts of Barbhoom, Rungpore, Radnagore, and Benares, are the only districts which produce Sugar beyond their own consumption.

But there is another reason why India cannot export Sugar to an unlimited extent; namely, that in Bengal, the great Sugar country of India, the cane, more especially in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, is chiefly consumed in its raw state, as more profitable than manufacturing it into Sugar. The following official statement will shew the difference—

	Rs.	As.
Cultivating five Begahs, 1⅗ acres, for Sugar - -	161	9⅝
Value, Ghoor or Sugar therefrom - - - - - -	192	8
Profit, 20 per Cent. - - - - - - - - - -	30	14⅗
Cultivating five Begahs Cane, for eating - - -	105	9
Value, Canes sold in Calcutta - - - - - -	625	0
Profit, 500 per Cent. - - - - - - - - - -	519	7†

From India it is obvious, therefore, that there can be no great exportation, unless the price rises to an equal extent.

Hitherto the Sugars from India have been con-

* 4th Sept. 1792, 1st App. Rep. p. 104, 105.

† Rep. Sir E. Colebrooke, Calcutta, 21st Oct. 1792, pages 176, 177.

sidered only as it regards quantity, without any regard to its quality. In this latter respect it is greatly *inferior* to all other Sugar; nor can it be otherwise, from the manner in which it is manufactured. All the machinery and utensils employed for the purpose, are the rudest and most barbarous that it is possible to conceive *. In its first stage, or Jagory, it is "*a black disgusting mass*," and in its second "*an impure dark coloured damp Sugar*." In fact, after the

* In the Report, 1st App. pages 72, 73, 84, 85, 89, 100, 101, 211, and 3d App. pages 13, 22, 23, we find the process:—Sometimes the Cane is squeezed or rather ground in hand mills, but more generally between two rollers placed perpendicular or horizontal, and very frequently by a kind of spindle working like a pestle in a mortar, without the smallest attention to cleanliness, or to having pure vessels to receive the juice. The wretched machines are placed at the side of the Cane fields which are to be cut. A sufficient number of people bring the Canes to the mill, without stripping or cleaning them of their various impurities. At the mill, a man in some districts cuts the Cane into pieces six inches long, and in other districts into pieces only 1½ inches long. Another man puts these pieces into the basket of the man who feeds the mill; a fourth drives the bullocks; a fifth carries the juice to the boiler in small pots, mixed as it is, with dirt and pieces of mogass; a sixth attends the fire; a seventh supplies the fuel; and the eighth manages the boiler. The juice is boiled in flat iron pans, and is, says Hamilton, passed through several until it is sufficiently INSPISSATED, which is when it has been reduced to ONE-FOURTH part. Nothing is either added to it or taken from it. It is not scummed. It in fact contains many impurities. This inspissated juice is called JAGORY, or *Jaggee*, or more properly "CAKE EXTRACT," and "POT EXTRACT," the former "A BLACK DISGUSTING MASS, but superior to the other, which is less inspissated, and which is put into earthen pots, &c." *Jagory or Ghoor*, in order to make Dowloa Sugar, is put into close baskets till *one-fourth* drops gradually through. "What remains in

various tedious processes and delays to which it is subjected in the course of manufacture, it is surprising that Sugar even of the worst quality should be produced. Yet with all these facts and references before him, the Reviewer has had the hardihood to assert, (No. 75, p. 215,) that West India Sugar is of "*a very inferior quality.*" The quality, however, of this boasted Indian Muscovado Sugar in its *third* state, as it is

the baskets being an impure dark-coloured damp Sugar," is put into other baskets, after which it undergoes various other processes till it reaches the scale of *Chenee*, the kind of Sugar sent to England, and from which, by ANOTHER process, a kind of refined Sugar is made; 640 *Sers* (1287 lbs.) Jagory, after another process, produces 480 Sers of Sugar, which being again reboiled, at the end of 75 or 80 days produces, in a finer process, 144 *Sers* Sugar, or about *one*-fifth of the original quantity. The remainder is molasses and scummings. "CAKE EXTRACT" produces 96 *Sers* from 480. In some districts the better kind of inspissated juice is called BHULEE, *four maunds* of which produce *one maund* of CHENEE. After the juice is boiled into Jagory, it is not unfrequently carried 100 miles in jars, and sold to a second class of Sugar Manufacturers, on very low terms, who boil it down once or twice and get 20lbs. Sugar from a *maund* (84lbs.) of JAGORY. The Sugar thus obtained is of a soft greasy quality, proceeding from the quantity of milk put into it to correct the acidity of the juice. Before boiling, the juice is sometimes carried to a considerable distance and sold to people who are Sugar Boilers. One mill and one set of implements, though rude and simple, serve for several farms. It is only LARGE FARMERS THAT CUT ONE ACRE of Canes in a year. The implements and machinery generally belong to some wealthy man, who hires them out to his poorer neighbours. The work also is often performed by the joint labour of the farmers, and the Crop must be finished in six weeks. From such a miserable system the Sugar must infallibly be bad, and the cost, however cheap the labour in each process may be, must ultimately come to be very high.

brought to England, was put to the test by order of the East India Company in 1791, and the following report by Mr. Favers, an eminent Sugar Refiner in London, dated April 19th, 1791, clearly established its great inferiority. "It proved," says he, "extremely different in its nature from any Sugar that had ever passed through his pans; it had *no* disposition to granulate *like West India Sugar;* though tempered with strong lime-water; and now that it has undergone the operation of *claying* it has become very soft, and of the *nature of Soap* when it has been a long time in water."—

	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
One Cwt. of it produced clayed Sugar	0	1	1
Syrup	0	1	23
Heading	0	1	0
Scum	0	1	16
	1	1	12*

Relying, or affecting to rely, upon the information and evidence of Sir Henry Colebrooke, and Thomas Scot, Esq. The Reviewer, page 214, states, first upon the authority of the former: "Bengal produces Sugar generally. It is cheaply produced, and frugally manufactured. *Raw Sugar procured in a mode peculiar to India*, but analogous to the process of making

* Rep. p. 4.—The difference or extra weight, arises no doubt from the quantity of water, &c. added.

muscovado, costs *less* than five shillings sterling per cwt. In the British West Indies, it cannot be produced for six times the price*." Secondly, upon the authority of the latter, he adds, "*Khaur Shucker*, is the best Sugar for the British market, and resembles the Sugar we get from the West Indies, which is now selling at 7*d.* per lb.; this is raised by the middling classes; but the ZEMINDARS, being more opulent, go on a larger scale:—2½ Rupees, the average price mentioned by Mr. Scot, is at the present rate of exchange about 6*s.* 8*d.* per cwt." From India, therefore, "*the largest supply would hardly exceed half the ordinary price at which it is obtained from the West Indies.*"

Mr. CROPPER in his report, written for the Liverpool East India Association, takes up the same ground. In page 20, he informs us, that "Sugar can be produced much cheaper in the East Indies, than in the West, and that this is a strong reason why the claims of the West Indies should not be granted." And in pages 48, 49, and 58, he continues, "why should the people of England be compelled to submit to a *clear*, *undisputed*, and acknowledged tax, to

* This is not true—30*s.* per cwt. in the West Indies, would be a good saving price at this moment.

force up the price of an article to 6½*d.* which, without any diminution of the revenue, the people could get at 2½*d.* or 3*d.* per lb."

When Sir Henry Colebrooke, and Thomas Scot, Esq. came forward with such ridiculous statements, it may convince the most thoughtless, that individuals may reside long in India, and yet know very little of its agricultural or commercial concerns. That Sugar, such as is brought "from the West India Colonies," for the consumption of this country, can be raised in India; that it is raised in that country, or *any where else*, at "*five shillings sterling per cwt*," is positively impracticable. Whether Sir Henry Colebrooke, and Mr. Scot, knew the fact or not, I will not pretend to determine; but, that both *Mr. Cropper*, and the Reviewer, when they stated this low price, should not know, the one from his own experience as a merchant, the other from the official report in his hands, that what they were asserting was incorrect, it is difficult to imagine. There is not indeed a page in the report in question, that does not falsify in the completest, and most decided manner, the daring assertion, made of the superior cheapness of Sugar produced in the Eastern world. In India, the price of the *Jagory*, from which the muscovado Sugar is produced, is from 6*s.* 4½*d.* per cwt. to

11*s.* $4\frac{7}{10}$*d.* per cwt., according to its quality, and this produces only *one fourth* or *one half* the quantity of muscovado Sugar, *doubling* the price in the one case, and *quadrupling* it in the other; as the refuse in the process may be supposed to defray the expense of the labour required. In general the price of *Jagory* is from 6*s.* to 8*s.* per cwt., yet it is this wretched substance—this "*black disgusting mass,*" *four* cwt. of which, scarcely make *one* cwt. of bad Sugar; it is this Jagory, that the critic, and Messrs. Cropper and Co. (whether from ignorance or *design*, I know not) set down as the Indian Sugar seen in the British market; and this price,—the price of that Jagory in India, which they state as the price of good Indian Sugar in the British market. But the price of Indian Sugar is in reality very different, and bears a much higher value *. The price in India,

* In order that the facts regarding these important subjects, may be placed fully before the reader, I shall endeavour to draw up a condensed summary of them, under different heads from the official voluminous report.

EXPENSE OF MANUFACTURING SUGAR.

The cultivator of Sugar is either the immediate proprietor of the land, or a person who rents it from the proprietor. Compared with the materials for cultivation in the West Indies, the materials employed in the East are light, cheap, and removable from place to place *. In Bengal, simple diet, and scanty clothing suffice the peasant, and the price of labour is consequently low—rather *under* 2*d.* per day. The dwelling of the manufacturer, or rather Sugar Planter, is a straw hut; he requires little capital,

* Report, 1st. App. p. 53.

according to the official reports referred to, varies from Ganjam the *highest* 30*s.* 8½*d.* per cwt., to Radnagore the *lowest* 16*s.* 1½*d.* per cwt., ac-

and the abode of the immediate labourer, or bondman, is still more humble*. The boiling utensils, four Cudgree pots, are only valued at 2*d.* each. The Sugar-bakers, in the months of September and October, when they perceive that the crop is secured (but not till then) advance money to the *Ryots* at a very high interest, but without which, they could not carry on the cultivation and manufacture†. Nevertheless, says Buchanan, "the Planters in the West Indies have a decided advantage over those in Hindostan, in climate, SOIL, carriage, and skill in agriculture and mechanics," though the price of labour, and African labourers are much against them‡. In order to induce the peasants to bring forward a greater quantity of Sugar, the COMPANY advanced large sums of money to them; but bad seasons, and untoward commercial events, destroyed the prospects of both, and the money was consequently lost§. The TAX on land, when cultivated in Sugar, is £2. 2*s.* 9*d.* sterling per acre‖, and the expense of cultivating one *Begah*, or 1600 square yards of land in Sugar, is 20 Sicca Rupees, or 46*s.* 8*d.* sterling. Hamilton in his survey, says the expense of cultivating canes, is considerably greater than in cultivating grain, and whenever Sugar is to be raised, the RENT IS HIGH. The same field which when it is cultivated in grain pays ONE Rupee rent, pays FIVE Rupees when cultivated in Sugar. In proportion to the Sugar land in the district, the rent is high. The farmers who cultivate Sugar, are not richer than those who cultivate grain¶. In the district of *Nundydroog* (Mysore), DR. HEYNE states that the Red cane is cultivated, but it cannot be produced a second time on the same field. The cane impoverishes the land so much, that they do not account it a profitable article of cultivation**.

PRODUCE OF THEIR MILLS, &c.

The mill goes night and day, worked by two bullocks at a time, which are changed every two hours, or after their labour has produced twelve gallons of juice. These bullocks do no more work that day. The mill

* Report, 1st. App. p. 80. † Report, 1st. App. p. 211. ‡ Report, 3rd. App. p. 12. § Report, p. 126, Bengal Board of Trade, 25th. Sep. 1792. ‖ Report, 3rd. App. p. 20. ¶ Report, 1st. App. p. 126, and Report, 3rd. App. p. 24. ** Report, 3rd. App. p. 38.

cording to the quality, and according to the distance the districts which produce Sugar, are from the port of export, by which the car-

expresses about 7,000 Canes, which produce about 218 ale gallons of juice in 24 hours, which juice yields about 1½ cwt. of sugar *(Jagory)*. Fourteen bullocks are employed about the mill, and seven men attend the works during the process of boiling*. In other places the mills do not produce so much. A cattle-mill will produce, says the Report, page 100. from 75 to 80 lbs. *jagory* per day†. Hamilton, in his Survey, informs us that 16 men and 20 oxen assemble in one place from the neighbourhood. The whole work night and day in cutting, carrying, grinding, and boiling the Canes and Cane juice. The juice is boiled till reduced to one sixth. It is never scummed. The labour of these people, and the 20 oxen, produce in 24 hours only, 476 lbs. inspissated juice, or about 1 cwt. of sugar. A begah, one-third of an acre, produces 168 *mons*—13,891 lbs. Cane, which yields 14 *mons*—1,159 lbs. " POT EXTRACT." A mill with eight men and 12 oxen clear half an acre of Cane in 12 days, working 12 hours each day‡. And Roxburgh states, that a mill which goes night and day expresses 7,000 Canes, which produce 14 *maunds* JAGORY—7 *maunds* RAW, or 1½ cwt. Sugar, At Chinapatam, the mill in 24 hours produces three boilings, each about 1 cwt. Jagory—about 90 lbs. Sugar§.

The same quantum of labour would, in the West Indies, produce *ten*—twenty times the quantity of Sugar. A six-horse power steam engine, equal to the power of 30 men, would squeeze 300 gallons of liquor in less than an hour. Forty negroes, six mules, and 4 cattle, cut, carry, cart, grind, boil, and complete the manufacture of 30 cwt. of Sugar in 14 hours.

PRODUCE OF SUGAR PER ACRE IN INDIA.

The two kinds of Cane that are cultivated in Hindostan are, the purple or Batavia Cane, the hardest and containing the least quantity of juice, but most sweet: the white cane, the softest, which contains the greatest quantity of juice, but least sweet||. Sugar is also made from the date tree, which produces juice by incision after it arrives at the age of ten years. The produce of an acre of land varies very considerably. The Bengal Board of Trade state it to be from 4½ to 15 cwt. but the average may be

* Report, 3d, App. p. 11. † Report, 1st, App. p. 100.
‡ Report, 3d, App. p. 23 & 24. § Report, 3d, App. p. 13 & 14.
|| Report, 1st App. p. 75.

riage and expenses attending the transporting of it are more or less enhanced. The expense of bringing Ganjam Sugar to Madras, the export

taken at 10 cwt*. Buchanan estimates it to be in some places 13½ cwt. Nine cwt. he states, is considered a bad, and 15 cwt. a good crop. The Cane ought not to be cut in less than 12 months from the date of planting. A crop from ratoons is seldom taken; when it is, it is always poor and trifling. The fields are watered by labour, and are exceedingly liable to be scorched by drought. A calagu of land (1 1-5th acre) requires by one account 18,000, and by another 50,000 plants. Sometimes the land is manured, and a second crop taken, but in general TWO crops of rice must intervene between every crop of Sugar. Thirty-seven gallons of best juice, makes 1 cwt. *jagory*†. Roxburgh states that half a *vissum* (one acre) yields in a good season 10 candy of Sugar, each candy 500 lbs. and worth, on the spot, from 16 to 24 rupees, according to the demand. *One-sixth* part forms Ghoor‡, A candaica of land, equal to 3,876 of an acre, produces 21,000 Canes. The value of produce Sugar per acre is, on good land, from £5..17 to £2..18..6§. An acre, says another account, produces 15 cwt. Raw Sugar (that is jagory), worth £22..15, but *one-third* must be deducted for the expense of manufacturing, which leaves £15..3..4||.

The poverty of the soil is clearly shewn from the number of plants required, from 18,000 to 50,000 per acre. In the West Indies it varies from, 5,500, to 8,000 per acre. Poor land requires most. In ordinary land, and in Plant Canes, an acre will produce above 32,000 Canes from six to twelve feet long (strong soils produce much taller) and which yields in Sugar from 30 to 45 cwt. EIGHTEEN HUNDRED gallons of raw juice will, upon an average of the crop of sea-side estates, make 17 cwt. (1,904 lbs.) Sugar, exclusive of molasses, so that in every respect West India cultivation and management are infinitely superior to the cultivation and management in the East Indies.

PRICE OF JAGORY IN INDIA.

JAGORY sells in many places at 6*s.* 4½*d.* per cwt. and one acre frequently yields only 8¾ cwt¶. JAGORY, produced from a wet soil, sells at

* Report, 1st, App. p. 100, 102, 103.

† Report, 3d, App. pages 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid. || Ibid.

¶ Report, 3d, App. p. 15.

port, is 7*s.* 8*d.* per cwt. freight, and 2*s.* 8*d.* extra charge for packing it in boxes. The average price at the latest dates from the Calcutta

8*s.* 0¼*d.* and that produced on a dry soil at 11*s.* 9¾*d.* per cwt.* At Killamalgalam, the price of JAGORY is 11*s.* 4*d.*7-10*ths.* per cwt†. At the lowest price, the quantity of Sugar produced is scarcely *one-fourth*, and in the higher and finer quality under *one-half.*

PRICES OF SUGAR IN INDIA, &c.

In 1791, the prices at clearing the warehouses were, *viz.*

Benares Sugar - - - -	£.0	17	4	per cwt.
Rungpore do. - - - - -	0	17	6¼	—
Soonamooky - - - - -	1	0	3	—
Radnagore - - - - -	0	16	1½	—

Exclusive of all expenses in India for carriage, shipping, &c. about 20 per cent. on prime cost. It is remarkable that Sugar is lowest in the provinces where strongest grained ‡.

The collector of GANJAM district reports the price of Sugar there to be, *viz.*

1st kind, per cwt. - - - -	£.1	10	8½	
2d do. — - - - - -	1	5	7	
3d do. — - - - - -	1	0	5½§	

From the Report of the Bengal Board of Trade, July 22d. 1793, it appears that 7,117 tons Sugar, purchased and shipped to England, at a time when war had made no advance in the price of materials for cultivation, cost 2,343,314 Rupees, about £.234,331, nearly 33*s.* per cwt. (Rupee then 10 p. c. more.) At a subsequent period, the prime cost and charges of 4,540 tons shipped to England, amounted to £.222,249 11*s.* and which, if sold at 50*s.* per cwt. would bring L.222,388, leaving only £.138 9*s* of profit ||.

The Java Sugar differs from the Bengal Sugar very materially, both in quality and process of manufacture, the latter being carried on upon the same extensive system as in the West Indies. It is principally exported to Japan and Europe, but considerable quantities are sent to the Malabar

* Report, 3d, App. p. 12. † Rep. 3d, App. p. 20.
‡ Report, 1st, App. p. 56. § Rep. 1st, App. p. 250.
|| Report, 1st App. p. 222, 249.

market, may be taken about 22*s.* per cwt. *in the warehouses,* and the official report accordingly states it last year at 21*s.* 4*d.* At different periods, however, the Company paid as high as 25*s.* and 35*s.* per cwt. in India; so high in fact, that when sold in Britain at 50*s.* exclusive of

coast. It is greatly superior to Hindostan Sugar in quality. Although there is a great number of slaves (40,000) in Java, yet the cultivation of the cane is chiefly carried on by free labourers, who are hired at the miserable pittance of TWO dollars per month! The production of Sugar is on the increase in Java. The quantity manufactured was, viz—

In 1799	30,131	peculs
1800	106,513	—
1801	107,498	—
1802	94,903	—*

The prices in Java, China, and Bencoolen, have already been noticed, and it is unnecessary here to repeat them; they are taken from the same authority. Considering the superior quality, they are greatly cheaper than Indian Sugar.

CHARGES ON SUGAR IN INDIA.

Additional charge for packing in boxes, 1*s.* 7$\frac{3}{4}$*d.* per cwt.

Boat hire to ship - - - 7*d.* —

In 1792, when prime cost was £.26 10*s.* the Company charged 20 per cent, or £.5 6*s.* for charges previous to leaving the Indian port; and at that time they state Sugar cost them, landed in England, 55*s.* 10$\frac{1}{4}$*d.* exclusive of interest of money, insurance, and wastage†. An official letter, dated Madras, 2d March, 1798, states that the charges on Ganjam Sugar from purchasing in the district till shipped, were 10*s.* 11*d.* per cwt.; the wastage in the voyage 7 per cent, and on other Sugars 4 per cent.‡

EXPENSES OF CONVEYING TO ENGLAND.

In 1792, the freight charged was £.26 10*s.* per ton; in 1793, £.15 per ton; in 1798, £1 4*s.* 5*d.* per ton; and in 1816—17, and 1817—18, 10*s.* per ton, as *dead weight*—charges in England 3*s.* 9*d.* per cwt.§

* Report, 3rd App. ps. 39, 89, 91, 92, and 93.

† Report, 1st App. p. 43, 56, 71, 250. ‡ Report, 2d App. p. 23.

§ Report, 1st App. p. 56, 240, 252; 2d. App. p. 23; and 4th App. p. 44.

duty, it barely cleared cost and charges. When brought to market in England, Sugar for a series of years during the war, cost the Company 55*s.* 10½*d.* per cwt., exclusive of interest of money, insurance, and wastage.

Having considered the price of Sugar in Hindostan, it may now be of importance to consider what the value of it is in other countries in the East. The Sugar produced in Java alone, is equal to that produced in Manilla and the West Indies. "*It can be brought to market at about the same price.*" The price of the first quality, equal to Jamaica, is 25*s.* per cwt. It is chiefly cultivated, says Sir Stamford Raffles, by the Chinese. From Mr. Crawford's account of the Eastern Archipelago, it appears that Sugar at that time could be produced at 8*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. The price, however, to the European Merchant at the shipping port, "as purchased from the Planters," was best white, from 5 to 6½ dollars, and brown, from 4 to 4½ dollars, per *pecul* of 136lbs. avoirdupoise; and it is sold to the *exporter,* white at 8 dollars, and brown 6 dollars per *pecul.* The Dutch carry Java Sugar to Japan where none is produced, and sell it there at 20 Spanish dollars per *pecul* of 125lbs. Good marketable Sugar costs, in Bencoolen, from 4 to 5 dollars per *pecul;* and the price in China

is, from 4 to 6 tales (6*s*. 8*d*. each) per *pecul*, about 28*s*. the cwt.

Such are the prices of Sugar in Hindostan, and in other countries which produce Sugar in the Eastern world. The freight and charges in the transporting of it to Great Britain, is the next object meriting consideration. In 1791, it appears the freight was 26*s*. 6*d*. per cwt.; in 1793, 15*s*.; in 1798, 24*s*. 5*d*.; and in 1816 and 1817, when charged and carried as *dead weight*, 10*s*. It is also subject to other charges, such as insurance expenses and commissions, at shipping, wastage from 4 to 7 per cent; and the mercantile charges in England upon effecting sales, &c. in the market, at least 4s. per cwt.; while the wastage and other charges cannot fail to amount to as much more. From Parliamentary Paper, No. 70, Session 1823, it appears that previous to 1815, the freight and charges to Britain, upon Sugar, is generally one-half more than the prime cost, and sometimes double. Even at this moment, the regular freight and charges from India to England alone, cannot be less than 18*s*. per cwt. It is possible it may, for particular reasons, cost less; but to make the transport of it a saving trade, it ought not to be less, nor even so low. Carrying it as *dead weight* or ballast for vessels, is not a trade that Britain or British Merchants should covet

or look forward to. To use the words of Mr. Huskisson, House of Commons, May 22d., "if once we are to look to any thing like a considerable supply, we must freight ships in the regular way; when a considerable addition would be made to the price." This is such a self-evident fact, that though Mr. Cropper and the critic in the Edinburgh Review, may think fit to despise or overlook it, the people of Great Britain must take this into their calculations.

In the speech already referred to, Mr. Huskisson stated, that the largest export of Sugar from India, in any one year, was 11,000 tons, viz. 7000 tons to Great Britain, and 4000 tons to other parts of the world. This was in 1795. The average of 1816-17 and 1817-18 (the two years when it is believed the export was greatest) exceeded this, and amounted to 14,604 tons, or 18,255 hhds. of 15 cwt. each *. This was the

* Export Sugar from Bengal, Rep. 4th App. p. 45.

	1816-17.		1817-18.	
	Tons.	Value.	Tons.	Value.
Great Britain	5,129	10,43,713 Rs.	5,663	12,49,012 Rs.
Foreign Europe	716	1,54,166	1,222	2,91,841
United States	4,802	10,45,989	5,082	12,55,450

To Arabian and Persian Gulphs, 1819-20, exports 787,600 rupees, say £80,000, or 3200 tons, at £25 per ton.—Rep. 1st, 1st App. p. 62, 63.

Imported into England from India, 1817.. 6,098 tons
1818.. 8,029 –
1819..10,055 –
1820..13,861 –

Parliamentary Paper, No. 442, Session 1821.

utmost effort of India, and, on that supply brought to Britain, it is well known there was a great loss, notwithstanding the low freights. Why India does not export more Sugar, the East India Company can tell if they please. Except to Britain, the market of the whole world is open to them, which neither is nor ever was the case to the West Indies, and it is well known that, in those quarters of the world open to India, above 200,000 tons of Sugar are annually consumed. The fact is, the East India Sugars are beat out of every market in the world by Sugars of a superior quality and cheapness, produced by other nations and by the colonies of other nations, whether cultivated by freemen or by slaves. The reviewer knows little if he does not know this, and Mr. Cropper's sphere of commercial knowledge is very limited indeed if the fact is not perfectly known to him.

But while India exported only 14,600 tons of Sugar, she imported at the same time from 8,400 to 10,000 tons, or to the value of 21,03,519 rupees*, leaving the real export, namely the

* Imports in to India 1817–18 - - 16,32,380 Rupees.
1818–19 - - 25,80,658 —
1819–20 - - 22,93,987 —
average 21,29,008, or about 8,400, tons, at £25, per ton, but this is above the Company's valuation, and taking it at theirs would give about 10,000 tons,

The exports to United States these years were—average 13,45,442 sicca Ruppees, say £140,000, or 6000 tons. 4th. App. Report, p. 64–73.

excess above her import, 6,200 tons, or 7,750 hhds. Our West India Colonies export annually about 190,000 tons, and which, in point of quality and strength, is superior in the proportion of not less than two to three. It is very true that the exports from India to England at a subsequent period, 1819 and 1820, were greater, but it is equally true that the exports during these years to the United States, and Persian and Arabian Gulphs, decreased greatly.

The boasted exports, therefore, of Hindostan, and even of the whole Eastern world, in the article of Sugar, sink into insignificance before the exports from the British Colonies in the Western world, and it is perfectly evident, from natural and physical causes, that the exports of the former cannot be materially increased.

But while the advocates for the East India interests are so far wrong about the quantity of Sugar which Hindostan produces, or can produce, they run into a still more fearful and fatal error when they assert that Sugar can be bought in India at 5*s.* per cwt., and sold in England, duty included, under 2½*d.* per lb. The Reviewer who is not easily startled at any statement that militates against the West Indies, seems for a moment to have been staggered at this, and to have supposed that there was some mistake, for, says he, by Buchanan's Researches, it appears

that the price of Sugar in some parts of India, was 21*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. Adding to this only 8*s.* 8*d.* for freight and charges, it makes, continues he " the necessary price in the London market, 30*s.* per cwt., or 10*s.* below the price at which the West Indians say they can afford to sell Sugar of an *inferior* quality*."

As the mercantile charges in England amount to 4*s.* per cwt., the Reviewer allows only 4*s.* 8*d.* per cwt. for freight, insurance, and wastage; a perfect absurdity. By his own mode of calculating, the price of East India Sugar was equal to the average Gazette price of West India Sugar, at the time he wrote; while what he states as the London market price 30*s.*† for East India Sugar, is of itself about 3¼*d.* per lb. exclusive of duties. Yet in the very next breath, he ventures to tell his readers, that *(equal* duties included) Sugar can be had from India at a price " hardly to exceed *half the ordinary price,* at which it can be obtained from the West Indies," which at present does not exceed 6*d.* per lb., and of a much superior quality. His friend Mr. Cropper, however, takes a still bolder flight,

* Edin. Rev. No. 75. p This is a misrepresentation. It was said during war, when India Sugar landed in England cost 55*s.*

† London Gazette average, January, 1823.

and wider departure from the fact, when he presumes to state, that Sugar, equal to West India Sugar, can be bought in India at 5*s.* per cwt., and including duty, freight, and charges, can be produced in the English market at 16*s.* to 18*s.* per cwt.*, which is "*under* 2½*d.* per lb.!" Into such absurdities do men wander when they want to accomplish a favourite object not consistent with fact. If such were the price given to Mr. Cropper's miserable free Hindoo farmer, how many British manufactures could he buy? what price could he afford to give for them? If Mr. *Cropper* cannot, a school-boy—an Eboe negro, one of the dullest of his "*African Brethren,*" could answer the questions. None! Nothing! His acre of canes would not yield more than 50*s.* per annum, which deducting for rent, one third, and next the estimated expense of cultivation, would leave a sum scarcely sufficient to yield him, in droughts such as frequently visit India, water to drink, without any other necessary whatever.

Taking the price of Sugar according to the present demand, it is evident, from the shewing of the East India Company themselves, that the price of India Sugar in England, as a fair and re-

* Liverpool Report, pages 48 & 49.

gular article of trade, would stand at 38*s.* per cwt*. Besides, as the demand increased, the price would increase; and were the West Indies to be blotted from the map of the world, and the people of Great Britain reduced to look to, and depend upon Hindostan, for a supply of Sugar, they would soon find they would have to pay 8*s.* or 9*s.* per cwt., at the very lowest, for freight.

Even Mr. Cropper in the midst of his reveries, is compelled to look forward to this fact. "Such an unnatural state of things cannot continue. The freight," says he, page 30, "will be regulated by the distance, and expense of navigation. The low freights," continues he, page 31, "which have been paid from the East cannot continue,

* Prime cost in India - - - - -	£ 1	2	0
Shipping charges, say only - - -	0	1	1
Wastage, 5 per cent. - - - - -	0	1	1
Commission—India - - - - -	0	1	1
Insurance on cost and freight, 2½ do.	0	0	10
Freight - - - - - - - - -	0	8	0
Mercantile charges in England - -	0	4	0
Cost at market - - - - - - - -	£ 1	18	1

The following was the value of Sugar from India in 1819, as paid by a highly respectable commercial house in this Country.

In chests, at 9..6 Rupees, per Bazar maund.
In bags, at 9..6 to 10..10 Rupees do.
Charges, packing, 5 per cent.
Commission India, 5 per cent.
(Casks and Chests cost 6 per cent. charges, bags less.)

Benares Sugar, from 10 to 10..8 Rupees, including freight and charges, the Sugar stood 42*s.* per cwt. landed in Great Britain.—Mr. Cropper, I have no doubt has similar invoices.

NOT BEING AN ADEQUATE REMUNERATION TO THE SHIPOWNER."

Considering these facts, it cannot fail to excite surprise, to hear the Reviewer (following Mr. Whitmore's statement) assert, page 214, that the exclusion of the cheap East India Sugar from the British market, is "a *bonus* to the West Indians, which could not in ordinary years be estimated at less than *two millions;* and all this two millions of a *bonus,*" continues he, p. 217, "to bribe a parcel of slaveholders to continue in a losing business." Mr. Cropper echoes the same opprobrious assertion, and the same false calculation. How false, it is not difficult to shew.

Two lbs. of West India Sugar, are on all hands acknowledged to contain as much saccharine matter as three lbs. of East India muscovado. As the consumption of West India Sugar in Great Britain and Ireland, is in round numbers 3,000,000 cwts. annually; if East India Sugar was substituted in its stead, the calculation would stand as follows: taking the price on the average of three years, according to the East India returns, viz. 34*s.* 4*d.**

* 1820–21	- - - - -	£1 14 0
1821–22	- - - - -	1 5 6
1822–23	- - - - -	1 11 6
		3)4 11 0
Par. Paper, No. 313, Sessions, 1823.		£1 10 4

EAST INDIA SUGAR.		
4,500,000 cwts. at 34*s.* 4*d.* as shewn below	£7,729,500	
Do. duty 27*s.*	6,075,000	
Supply of Great Britain		£13,805,000
WEST INDIA SUGAR.		
3,000,000 cwts. at 34*s.* the present Gazette price.	£5,100,000	
Do. duty 27*s.*	4,105,000	
Supply of Great Britain		£9,205,000
Annual Loss		£4,600,000

instead of a gain of two millions, by substituting East India for West India Sugar, from which may be deducted the freight and charges of £1,050,000, on the additional 75,000 tons required on account of the *inferiority* of the article.

But to place the matter upon the standard of their own calculation, and allowing the quality of East India Sugar to be equal to the quality of West India Sugar, (Parliamentary Paper, No. 313, of last Session) a return furnished by the East Indians themselves, sets down the price of Indian Sugar, landed in this country, exclusive of mercantile charges, at 31*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. adding the mercantile charges, 4*s.*, the price would be 35*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. then the result would be :—

3,000,000 cwts., at 35*s.* 6*d.* is	£.5,325,000	
—— duty 27*s.*	4,105,000	
		£.9,430,000
3,000,000 cwts. West India Sugar, cost and duty		9,205,000
Loss - - - - - - -		£. 225,000

But when we reflect that, during the last three years, the gazette average price of West India Sugar has not exceeded 30*s.* or 31*s.* per cwt.; it is obvious that, by the use of that Sugar, the people of Great Britain, instead of a loss, have paid £675,000 less.

Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer wish to burthen the people of this country with £2,025,000 additional taxes annually; he would only have to do what the Reviewer recommends, namely, to substitute East India Sugars for those of the West Indies, in the market of Great Britain.

The Edinburgh Review (and its associates in this system of delusion) may write, boast, and assert, as long and as much as they please, but till they can make East India Sugar equal to West India Sugar, they can never render it equally advantageous for Great Britain to receive the former instead of the latter. And this improvement they never can effect till they adopt, if they can adopt with effect, the same mode of cultivation. That such a system of cultivation can be established in the East, is more than problematical. It has been tried, and has failed again and again, after the strongest encouragement and support. These facts, the Reviewer and his friends conceal and pass over. They tell us what the East India Com-

pany and their servants at one time thought and speculated upon, but they do not tell us the result, the consequences of these speculations and experiments, when put to the test, under the support and the power of the Masters of India.

In the month of February, 1791, Lieutenant Paterson, succeeded in persuading the East India Company that he could, after the West India mode, cultivate Sugar most advantageously in India. The Company assented to his proposition, and agreed to purchase the Sugar he raised at a fixed price. He proceeded with his scheme, but was soon obliged to apply for a loan of money. This the Company granted under security. All his schemes, however, failed, and where his securities could not pay, the Company lost their money. After the desolation of St. Domingo had raised Sugar to a very high price, the Company made every exertion to procure supplies from India. They encouraged the system of West India cultivation, and advanced money to the *Ryots* to enable them to bring forward larger crops; the efforts were unavailing. The most marked results were those stated by the Bengal Board of Trade, 25th March, 1795, the demand for Sugar for the four preceding years had been beyond *the sup-*

ply, in consequence of which, great frauds and impositions were practised by false packings, &c. As late as 1800, individuals persisted, under the sanction and aid of the Company, to cultivate Sugar on the West India plan. The Company even granted to the adventurers a monopoly of the market in some districts. But all the efforts failed, in consequence of the heavy expense attending the erection of mills, buildings, and procuring machinery, utensils, &c. In particular, the expense of importing iron rollers from England, could not be supported. While the competition from the wretched manufacture, by the Hindoos, drove the extensive manufacturer or cultivator to ruin; his attempt, says the Resident at Ganjam, Letter, 6th Feb. 1802, counteracted the industry of the natives, *debased* the quality of their Sugar, and covered whole districts with discontent, wretchedness, poverty, and despair *.

The Reviewer, page 218, tells his readers on the authority of Mr. Cropper's report, that previously to 1803, the duties on East India Sugar were really *ad valorem* duties, and that in consequence these were frequently *lower* than the duties on West India Sugar ! ! This is a confession could have been scarcely expected. The *ad*

* Report, 1st App. pages. 2, 100, 101, 242, 261, 262.

valorem duty on East India Sugar, was £37..10 per ton, which shews the price of India Sugar upon the Company's lowest valuation, to have been £1..17..6, per cwt. during that period, instead of 5*s*. But, since the duty on East India Sugar was *lower, sometimes,* than the duties on West India Sugar, how came it to pass that the East Indians, with Sugar at 5*s*. per cwt. or even 20*s*. per cwt. did not beat the West Indians, not only out of the market of the mother country, but out of the principal markets of the world, always open to them? Why, during o many years, and these years undermentioned in particular, was the Sugar trade a losing trade to the Company*? And why is it that in a

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 70, Session 1823, states of East India Sugar, viz.—

	Profit.	Loss.	Quantity.
First Year of Import, 1791	£. 1,027	£. —	4,017
1792	1,748	—	3,310
1793	4,872	—	36,246
1794	—	25,650	57,583
1795	—	85,495	154,682
1796	18,168	—	84,606
1797	41,319	—	70,891
1798	82,164	—	138,864
1799	16,150	—	46,001
1800	—	106,923	111,070
1801	—	26,370	55,797
1802	—	56,761	55,786
1803	—	38,482	27,141
	£.165,448	340,131	846,994

Loss, £.174,689.

period of 30 years, they have lost on that article £587,975 *? Surely if they could purchase Sugar at 5*s.* in India, which is at least 20*s.* less than the price in the West Indies, they might even with an additional duty of 10*s.* on India Sugar, still undersell the West India Colonies by 10*s.* per cwt. and consequently command the Market of the Mother country. Let the Reviewer and his friends, if they can, solve the question. They are bound to do so, or remain silent.

How often has the Edinburgh Review taunted the Statesmen and Merchants of this country with the superior commercial knowledge, and skill, and patriotism of American Statesmen and Merchants. It must be allowed that the Americans are a shrewd commercial people, and taking them as such, I should like to hear the Review and his *friend* Cropper explain the reason why they import only 12,340,000 lbs. of Sugar (1,395,458 lbs. of which only, they carry to the United States) from India, where it is asserted it can be bought at 5*s.* per cwt., and at the same time import from Cuba 52,000,000 lbs.

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 70, Session 1823. Loss and gain on India Sugar from 1790 to 1821, inclusive:—

Loss	£.828,230
Profit	240,255
Loss	£.587,975

Sugar, for which they pay at least 25*s.* per cwt. *

"If we suppose" says Mr. Cropper, "the consumption to be four times its present rate (540,000 tons,) the duty might be reduced to *one fourth,* or 6*s.* 9*d.* per cwt; and this, when charged according to value, would probably not exceed 4*s.* to 5*s.* per cwt. on coarse Sugar, such as could be brought from India *including freight and charges,* at 16*s.* to 18*s.* per cwt. Thus we should have Sugar, duty included, costing *under* 2½*d. per lb.*" from which "refined Sugar might doubtless be made so as to be sold at 5*d.* per lb. without any loss to the revenue; and if the duty were levied according to value, Sugar would come to this country *precisely* in that state in which it could be most advantageously brought†," &c. So, it is an *ad valorem* duty which the East Indians really want! That is, according to their calculation, a duty of 5*s.* per cwt. While East India Sugar was taxed at this rate, and West India Sugar at 27*s.* per cwt. there can be no doubt that a great quantity of Indian Sugar would be used, because it would become as advantageous to the dealer to mix East India with West India Sugar, as to mix Bohea with Gunpowder Tea. Such a regulation

* American Official Returns, 1822.

† Liverpool Report, pages 48 and 49.

gone into by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be about as beneficial to the revenue, as making a bad spirit pay 10*s.* 6*d.* duty per gallon in Northumberland, and a good spirit only 2*s.* per gallon in Roxburghshire.

But softly, friend Cropper, you are not always accustomed to calculate thus erroneously and absurdly. The stuff you would bring from India to reduce the *ad valorem* duty to 5*s.* per cwt. must be *Jagory,* five lbs. of which would scarcely —*would not,* make one lb. of Sugar after a voyage to Great Britain. Now the consumption of this country is of good Sugar, annually, according to your own shewing (p. 40,) 151,000 tons. To make this quantity of Sugar in England equal only to East India Sugar, would require (including 50,000 tons exported) 1,000,000 tons *Jagory;* and to make Sugar containing a quantity of sweet equal to what the people of Great Britain now consume and export, 1,500,000 tons of Jagory would be required, the prime cost of which in England, at your estimation of cost, charges, freight, and duty, (18*s.* per cwt. allowing nothing for the manufacture in Britain,) would amount to £27,900,000, instead of £9,205,000, which, duty included, is all that Great Britain pays for the West India Sugar which she consumes, and about £1,700,000 additional, which she pays for what she exports after

refining it. In other words, her expense for Sugar would, by your plan be almost trebled.

Such a trade, at first sight, may appear very advantageous to the shipping interest, as requiring more extensive tonnage, and is no doubt that prosperous state which the sagacious Reviewer has in his eye, when he states that transferring the Sugar trade from the West Indies to the East would be attended with this advantage, that "*double the quantity of tonnage*" would be "required to import the SAME QUANTITY of Sugar from Hindostan, as from the West Indies*!" Whatever additional tonnage would be required, (it would require seven times as much,) must, as far as expenditure goes, come out of the pockets of the people of Great Britain. The truth is, that the argument of increased tonnage is as fallacious as the other assertions. An East India Ship freighted with that "*black disgusting mass*," JAGORY, made up of ungranulated, or half granulated Sugar, and scummings, and molasses, which never granulate, would bring none of it to England—it would, if shipped as West India Sugar is shipped, be all run out and pumped out, by the time the ship reached the Cape of Good Hope, to which point, if she was not a staunch ship,

* Edinburgh Review, No. 75, page 221.

her track might perhaps be traced on the ocean. It may safely be asserted, that the ship which brought it would not get prime cost, if in fact any price could be obtained for it. Better and more profitable it would certainly be, for the ship to carry "*the sand of the Ganges.*"

These things are noticed to shew their fallacy and absurdity, and because they are with some ingenuity, and by withholding the whole truth, plausibly put forward to mislead and deceive this country.

But as the question regarding equalizing the duty on Indian Sugar has been settled by the wisdom of Parliament; I consider it unnecessary at present to enter more fully upon that part of the subject. The East Indians assert they can undersell the West Indians in the Sugar-market. For that very reason the West Indies should be protected. The East India Company admit that they ought to be so *; and Parliament has

* The East India Company are perfectly sensible of this. "Although," say they, "the Importation of East India Sugar into Great Britain has not done much injury as yet to the West India Planter, it may happen, if the price fall much here, that it may interfere materially with the WEST INDIA interests, and in such case, the latter are certainly entitled to LEGISLATIVE PROTECTION; almost the whole cultivation of the Colonies in the West Indies is carried on by British Capital and by British subjects, who are obliged to receive their supplies from Great Britain, or her North American Colonies, and who *cannot* send their produce to any other market than that of Great Britain. As long as the price of Sugar continues SO HIGH HERE, it cannot be a considerable article of trade to

determined they shall be protected. The West Indians, moreover, fear, they would guard against, and with all their efforts oppose the proposed violation of their rights, by the introduction into the code of nations, of a new principle, which would leave trade without a foundation, and sacrifice the West Indies to-day, and the East Indies to-morrow, as theory or a momentary interest or speculative advantages might dictate. National compacts and laws, must not be so lightly broken or abrogated. Under the faith, power, sanction, and encouragement of the Legislature of Britain, the present system of cultivation in the West India Colonies was established, and by these has it been maintained. From the time of their first establishment to this day, the Mother Country has reserved, for her own advantage, the monopoly of their capital, labour, industry, supplies, and produce; (she did not do so with the East—there the monopoly was for the advantage of the India Merchants,) and under these circumstances, they are entitled to any advantage which she can bestow in return,

England, even if the duties were equalized; and in so doing, the British Government would cause a serious injury to the West India Planter, while they would not produce an increasing importation of Sugar from India."—(Report external Commerce, Bengal, for 1818—App. 4th, p. 46, Report.)

and while justice and policy—while the glory, honour, strength, and resources of the British Empire are held in view, and maintained by the Legislature and Executive Government of Britain, these possessions *must* continue to be protected and upheld.

Mr. Cropper and his worthy coadjutor the Reviewer, when it suits their views, ridicule, and would set aside Acts of Parliament. "The vested rights to which the West Indians have so confidently adverted, has *no other* foundation whatever, than the Acts of Parliament, *restricting their intercourse to the Mother Country**." And where, or how, in the name of common sense, can they have a better or a securer foundation? Does not this very restriction of their trade, a thing never required of the East Indies, express as strongly as Acts of Parliament can express it, the right to superior favour, exclusive privileges, and advantages in that market, to which their trade was restricted? Most unquestionably it does so. And is it at this time of the day to be stated—*demanded,* that because Great Britain can obtain Sugar somewhat cheaper from India, that, therefore, she should abandon possessions, whose interests she has, for 150 years, made in all

* Liverpool Report, page 21.

things completely *subservient* to hers, in order to transfer her favour to possessions, to the interests of which, the *interests of the Mother Country are*, and have, for a much longer period, been made subservient? Yet, such monstrous absurdity and injustice are required, and clamoured for, from that Legislature, upon whose acts and good faith depend the liberties, properties, and lives of every one of us. We have no stronger tower to fly to in the hour of danger; and till Mr. Cropper and the critic, or their principles, can change that Legislature by their *ipse dixit*—till they can rail the great seal of England from the charters of these Colonies, and from the Acts of Parliament—till they can blot out the records of the nation—banish justice from her courts, and judgment from the mind of her Senators—neither of them can deny these incontrovertible facts, nor break down these impregnable barriers.

The proceedings and conduct of the East India Company, at least, the proceedings and conduct which go forth to the world as theirs, and their advocates on this occasion, are altogether inexplicable. They must be aware, if the principles which they advocate, were to become the laws of Great Britain, that not merely *their* prohibitory duties, but their *monopoly*

could not stand a day. If this country is to proceed upon the abstract principle of purchasing every article of commerce where it is to be had cheapest, then she must renounce both the West Indies and the East Indies, because Sugar can be had from every other country that produces it cheaper, than from either; and, above all, we must look to obtain our tea, &c. through different hands than the hands of the East India Company. When this Company and the East India advocates tell us about the vast quantity of land fit for Sugar on the Banks of the Ganges, (they omit to state how long—how ill it has been cultivated, impoverished, and wasted) we are compelled to remind them of the still greater extent of better Sugar lands, that there is on the Banks of the Oroonoko, the majestic Maranon, the Upper La Plata, and the Niger, all of them much nearer us than the Ganges, or the Burhampooter.

CHAPTER II.

East and West Indies—political constitutions totally different.—Mis-statements of Mr. Clarkson regarding the expense of each to Great Britain.—Trade, East Indies and China.—Trade, West Indies.—Great superiority of the latter.—Deceptions in the Parliamentary returns on these heads.—How India may be benefitted, and the West Indies not injured. Misrepresentations of the Review and Mr. Cropper regarding the Indian trade, examined and exposed. Trade, United States to Canton almost equal to that of Great Britain.—Absurd regulations of East India Company, &c.

IN their political relations with the Mother Country, the British Constitution has raised an impassable barrier between the East Indies and the West. When British subjects settle in the latter, and when they go there to settle, they retain or have specially granted unto them all the privileges of Britons, namely, to make their own judicial regulations through their own Representatives, and their Sovereign by his Representative; in one word taxation only by

representation. On this sure foundation the fabric of British colonial policy arose in the Charaibbean Archipelago, and till the rights of Englishmen are overthrown by the strong arm of despotism, it must stand, and will stand upon the same immoveable foundation. It is British residents and capital that cultivate the West Indies. The British East India subject stands in a very different situation. From the moment he embarks for India, nay, even before it, he surrenders up every political privilege which distinguishes Englishmen from the subjects of surrounding states, and yields himself, soul and body—bound hand and foot, to the mandates of a commercial but governing body, as implicitly and completely as any subject of Russia. Their authority he dare not even question or scan, or if he is bold enough to attempt it in any shape, he is sent out of the country without the intervention of judge or jury. He is not allowed to cultivate, possess, or purchase a foot of land in India. I do not mean to say, constituted as our Government in India is, that this course is improper. No! I merely state the fact to mark the difference between the East and the West Indies; and yet, with this notorious difference, Mr. Clarkson has the hardihood to tell us that the East India Company "distribute an equal

system of law and justice (*British?*) to all without respect of persons*."

The Critic, Mr. Cropper, and Mr. Clarkson tell us, that while Britain pays all the expense of the West India Colonial establishments, the East India Company pay all the expenses in India; "they support their establishments both civil and military, at their own expense. THEY COME TO OUR TREASURY FOR NOTHING†." Really, how ignorant Mr. Clarkson supposes the people of Great Britain to be! She pays the whole naval force employed in India, and after granting the Government and masters of India, prohibitory duties, and complete monopolies on almost every article they trade in, she sends her troops to aid them in overthrowing kingdoms, and in placing and maintaining under their dominion, for their sole benefit and advantage, 120,000,000 of people—a country equal to modern Europe—a country from which, in darker ages, *Aurungzebe* drew a clear annual revenue of 32 millions sterling.—And under these circumstances, *durst* the East India Company come forward and require the people of Great Britain to pay the military establishments of India, while that Company retained the whole

* Clarkson's Thoughts, &c. p. 57.

† Ibid. &c. p. 56.

revenues, commercial and political, and exercised the power to banish every British subject from holding any communication whatever (but such as they permit) with any corner of Hindostan? Besides all this, does not the India Company owe a heavy debt, and is not that debt borrowed from or due to individuals in Britain*?

The West India Colonists on the other hand, possessing no such imperial powers, revenues, and advantages, defray the expense of almost all their internal establishments. They assisted in defraying the expenses of the fortifications which protect them. What is called the home salaries of the governors of almost every colony, is paid by taxes raised in some of them†. Jamaica pays the troops that form its garrison.

* From Parliamentary Paper, No. 431, of 1823, pages 46, 47, 49, and 50, it stands thus, viz.:—

Amount bearing interest annually, - - -	£33,104,941
Annual interest thereon, - - - - - -	2,008,050
Total debts in India, - - - - - - - -	39,533,655
Grand total Assets, - - - - - - - -	25,723,283
Grand total of Debts, - - - - - - - -	40,939,005
Excess of Debts territorial, - - - - - -	22,937,596
Excess of Assets territorial, - - - - - -	4,503,457
Net excess of Debts territorial, - - - -	18,434,139
Excess of Assets commercial, - - - - -	3,218,417
Net excess of Debts in India, - - - -	£15,215,722

† See Appendix A. for a particular account of both the receipts and expenditure of the 4½ per cent. tax.

Demerara pays a considerable part of a similar expense; and a demand is made that every Colony should pay the expense of the garrison which protects it. At their own expense the free inhabitants of the Colonies, as militiamen, arm, support, and defend their properties, and the British dominions. The statement of Mr. Clarkson, therefore, both regarding India and the West Indies, is not only most partial, but grossly wrong in its most important points*.

"The *exaggerated* statements," says the Reviewer, "of the importance and value of their commerce to the empire, put forward by West Indians," is not worth noticing†. "The supplies which the West India Colonies draw from this country," says Mr. Cropper, "consist ONLY of clothing and *lumber*, with some *trifling* articles wanted for their use in the cultivation of the

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 178, Session 1822. And from a Return to the House of Commons, 1823, the whole expenses paid by the Mother Country, for the maintenance and support of the Colonies, stands as under, viz.—

Windward and Leeward Islands - -	£364,000
Jamaica - - - - - - - - - -	115,000
Total - - - - - - - - - - -	£479,000

The expense of the navy, is probably about £200,000 per annum, or altogether an expenditure of £700,000 per annum, for the maintenance of Colonies, which yield in imports and exports, above fifteen millions annually. Where, I ask the Critic, will he find such a trade from so little expenditure?

† Review, No. 75, p. 220.

islands*." In short says Mr. Clarkson it is "doubtful, whether your trade is *worth the having* on its present terms†."

In the first place it may be observed that *no lumber* goes from this country to the West India Colonies. It is carried there from the Canadas, or the United States. So much for Mr. Cropper's commercial knowledge on this point. In the second place, official documents are referred to, to shew the magnitude and value of the trade, both to the East Indies and China, and to the West Indies—exports and imports; and which laid before the reader, will shew him the *value* of such thoughtless assertions as those just noticed.

TRADE—INDIA AND CHINA.

Exports for *nine years*, ending 5th Jan. 1823.

	Great Britain.		Ireland.	
	Official value.	Declared value.	Offi. val.	Dec. val.
Total	£25,747,776	£33,403,160	£651	£1,484
Average	2,860,864	3,711,462	none.	

About £800,000 annually was for China.

WEST INDIA TRADE.

	Great Britain.		Ireland.	
	Official value.	Declared value.	Official value.	
Total	£48,429,184	£46,498,501	£4,267,363	Irish curr.
Average	5,381,020	5,166,500	£434,488	Brit. do.
Ireland	434,488	434,488		
Yearly	£5,815,508	£5,600,988		
East Indies	2,860,864	3,712,952	deduct	
	£2,954,644	£1,888,036		
For. W. Ind.	1,257,049	1,257,059‡		
	£4,211,693	£3,145,095	in favour of the West Indies.	

* Liverpool Report, p. 35. † Clarkson's "*thoughts*," p. 56.

‡ Par. Papers, No. 130 & 246, Session 1823. Appendix.

It is very true, that the exports to the West Indies have considerably decreased. This arises from several causes,—*first*, the reduced price of the articles; *secondly*, the severe embarrassments which press upon those Colonies; *thirdly*, the increased trade between them and the Northern American Colonies, for many articles, such as beef, porter, &c., formerly sent from this country; and *fourthly*, from the trade which formerly centred in Jamaica, going in a great measure, direct to the Spanish Colonies. Still the internal consumption of these Colonies, as may be seen from the official returns, inserted at length in the appendix, cannot be less than £3,000,000 annually.

The advantages which our manufacturing interests derive from the trade to our West India Colonies, is best demonstrated by the following official returns. The value of Cotton goods exported from Great Britain for eight years, ending January 5th, 1822, stand as under, viz.

To Jamaica* - - - - - - - - - - -	£15,764,352
To all Countries east of the Cape of Good Hope†	3,968,632
Excess -	£11,795,720

But, says the Reviewer, the Exports "to the West Indies are sent only as an *entrepôt*

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 130, Session 1823.

† Ibid. No. 457, Session 1822.

for the Spanish Colonies*." True, part are so, but still a quantity equal to what has just been mentioned, is retained for internal consumption. But India is also but an *entrepôt* for goods; and it is an undeniable fact, that the chief increase in the trade in that quarter, arises from the demand for goods for the Indian Archipelago, but which are compelled to be sent through East Indian ports, instead of going direct, as they might more advantageously do, to the markets where required, and after the same manner as the trade which formerly centred in Jamaica, now proceeds direct to Spanish America.

That India is merely an *entrepôt* for the greater part of the goods sent to it, is evident from the following important official returns:

EXPORTS TO INDIA—DECLARED VALUE.

	Company.	Free Trade.	Total.
1820....	£1,721,114	2,308,681	4,029,795
1821....	1,754,652	2,836,007	4,590,659
1822....	1,279,021	2,867,056	4,146,077

Par. Paper, No. 313, Session 1823.

By a return made to the House of Commons by the East India Company, in last Session, the SALES of goods on their account at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen, and Prince of Wales Island, were as follows, viz.—

* Review, No. 75, page 220.

1818–19 - -	£727,945
1819–20 - -	623,918
1820–21 - -	513,404
1821–22 - -	594,890

Par. Paper, No. 481.

Which return establishes the fact, that TWO-THIRDS of the goods exported by the East India Company from Britain to India are re-exported from that country to other markets. The exports by the *free trade*, it is well known, are re-exported from India in a still greater proportion. The British exports consumed in India are almost exclusively consumed by the Europeans settled there.

Let us now contrast the whole trade of China and India, with the trade with our West India Colonies:

TRADE—INDIA AND CHINA, IMPORTS FROM.

Years ending 5th January 1819, official value ..	£7,337,689
.. .. 1820. ..	7,537,563
.. .. 1821, ..	7,562,647
.. .. 1822, ..	9,407,448
.. .. 1823, ..	7,868,232
	£39,713,580
Annual average - -	£7,942,716
Deduct China - - - -	4,551,556
Total imports from India - - -	£3,391,160

INDIA AND CHINA—PRODUCE EXPORTS FROM BRITAIN.

Years ending 5th Jan.	1821.	1822.	1823.
East India -	£3,682,194	3,116,809	2,824,459
China - -	598,377	701,873	627,672
Total	£4,280,571	3,818,682	3,452,131

WEST INDIA TRADE—IMPORTS.

Year ending	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Total.
5th Jan. 1819.....	£8,347,235	£454,785	£8,802,020
.. 1820.....	7,887,688	371,775	8,269,463
.. 1821.....	8,011,335	422,110	8,433,445
.. 1822.....	8,100,000	430,000	8,530,000
.. 1823.....	8,100,000	430,000	8,530,000
Total	£40,446,258	£2,108,670	£42,564,928
Annual average....	£8,082,251	421,334	8,512,987
Add Imports from For. West Indies, average.....			806,592
Grand total*.....			£9,319,579

The imports from the Foreign West Indies are fairly added, because in the imports from India are articles to perhaps even a greater value, which are not the produce of India. Thus Coffee comes from Arabia and the Oriental Islands, some Cotton (16,000 Bales) from the Isle de Bourbon; and Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Pepper, some Piece goods, and Nankeens, &c. are included in the imports from India, though these come from other places.

Imports, Produce from West Indies - -	£9,319,579
Do. do. from India - - - -	3,391,160
Balance, in favour of West Indies - -	£5,928,419

EAST INDIA IMPORTS.—DUTIES.

Years ending 5th January 1821, - - - -	614,272
.. .. 1822, - - - -	674,575
.. .. 1823, - - - -	743,840
Total in 3 years, -	£2,032,687

* Parliamentary Papers, No. 274, Session 1822, and No. 313, Session 1823. The value of Imports from the West Indies for 1821 and 1822, is not stated in money in the returns; but the Imports were greater.

WEST INDIA IMPORTS.—DUTIES.

Years ending	Gt. Britain.	Ireland.	Total.
5th January 1821,	£5,469,907	378,454	5,848,361
.. 1822,	5,514,245	445,431	5,959,676
.. 1823,	5,351,386	424,938	5,776,324
Total -	£16,335,538	1,248,823	17,584,361
Annual Average -	5,445,179	412,974	5,861,453
Deduct, East India	—	—	677,562
Balance in favour of the West Indies -			£5,183,891 *

WEST INDIA PRODUCE EXPORTED.

	1820.	1821.	1822.
Sugar Refined	£1,765,037	1,973,973	949,449
Do. Raw - -	838,907	1,216,331	612,945
Rum - - - - -	930,251	1,106,210	547,941
Coffee - - - -	—	—	1,200,000
Cocoa - - - -	83,580	65,765	99,295
Sundries - - -	—	—	181,611
	£3,717,775	4,362,279	3,591,241

Such is the magnitude and extent of a trade, which, Mr. Cropper asserts, is merely made up of "some trifling articles," and Mr. Clarkson says, "is not worth the having." The exports retained for the *bona fide* consumption of those Colonies exceed the exports to both India and China, and greatly exceed them, taking into account the articles exported through them to Foreign Colonies. The imports exceed the united imports from India and China by £1,500,000, and are *triple* those from Hindostan; and the revenue derived from the West India pro-

* Parliamentary Papers, Nos. 84, 107, and 313, of Session 1823.

duce, compared to that obtained from the East India produce, is *nine times* greater. The trade to China and India, outwards and inwards, employs 212 ships, 143,299 tons, while that to the West Indies employs 1672 ships, 440,515 tons, and 24,148 seamen, more than triple in the ships and tonnage, and, at the least, double in the number of seamen.*

To all these may be added, the very great

* Parliamentary Papers, No. 84, 107, and 313, Session 1823.

Here, however, it is proper to mention, that in all these returns from China and India, especially the former, there is a gross deception practised upon the public as to the value of the imports. The value, as returned, includes freight and charges till warehoused in England. Thus in the year 1820 the imports from China are stated at £4,750,450, which sum, with the exception of £70,827, was for Tea, Raw Silk, and Nankeens, the value of the Tea alone being more than £4,000,000. Now the value of the exports from Canton of the three articles mentioned, as given in by the Company themselves to the Committee of the Foreign Trade of the Country, was as under, viz.:—

1819–20	Tea - -	28,476,231 lbs. - -	£1,766,530
	Raw Silk	111,432 lbs. - -	98,240
	Nankeens	623,852 ps. - -	144,459
		Total - -	£2,009,229

The prime cost of cargoes in India were as under for the following years, viz.:—

	Company.	Private Trade.	Total.
1818–19	£1,666,946	The free trade	
1819–20	1,477,820	is considerably	
1820–21	1,534,917	less, but I have	
	3)4,679,683	no accurate accounts—say it is—	
Average -	1,559,894	£1,300,000	£2,859,894

trade carried on between the British West Indies and the British Colonies in British North America and Newfoundland. The exports and imports I have not been able accurately to ascertain, but together, these certainly exceed

The true state of the East and West India imports would therefore stand thus, viz.:—

West Indies, including foreign, prime cost		£9,319,579
China - - - - - -	£2,009,229	
East Indies - - - -	2,859,894	4,869,123
Excess West India imports - - - - - - -		£4,450,456

which is not *one-half* the value returned in England. Were the West India imports to be estimated on the same scale, they would greatly exceed what has been stated. Thus the principal articles would at the present prices stand thus, viz.:—

Sugar - - -	3,800,000 Cwts. 34s.	£6,460,000
Rum - - -	—	620,481
Coffee - - -	273,946 —	1,369,733
Cotton - - -	2,000 bales	330,000
Cocoa, &c. - -	—	500,000
Total, *exclusive* of Foreign West Indies - -		£9,280,214

N. B. Sugar, by official report last year, only £4,976,860.

The following official statement of the progressive increase of the West India trade cannot fail to be interesting.

	Imports.	Ships.	Tons.	Duty.
1701 ..	738,601	—	—	—
1715 ..	1,002,301	—	—	—
1735 ..	1,487,481	—	—	£ 99,906
1760 ..	2,286,110	404	60,779	172,686
1770 ..	3,418,823	610	89,683	313,830
1787 ..	3,749,447	573	131,934	1,614,689
1795 ..	8,881,673	654	153,000	1,667,000

Report, Committee Privy Council, 1789, Part 4, App. No. 6. The year 1795, is stated from the speech of the late Lord Melville, March 15, 1796.

£2,000,000 annually. All this depends upon the West Indies. The Mother Country cannot supply the Colonies within the tropics with the articles these Colonies require from our Northern possessions in America, and no other country requires from our North American Colonies the supplies which these furnish to the West Indies. In this respect the trade between those possessions, differs entirely from that carried on between India and the Isles in the Oriental Archipelago. The trade to the United States of America from the West Indies, is to even a greater extent than that between the latter and British North America *.

"The East Indians" says the Review, "*cannot* send us manufactured goods, and if we refuse to take their sugar, and *other raw products* in return, they will be inevitably and unwillingly compelled to cease purchasing our commodities †." Why they cannot send us manufactures, Mr. Cropper has been kind enough to explain. "It is calculated that we have already *superseded*, or are on the point of superseding the manufactures of India, to the extent

* Thus the exports and imports from Halifax last year to the West Indies, according to Halifax returns, amounted to £250,000. Imports at Quebec about £200,000.

† Review, No. 75.

of at least three millions sterling per annum ;" the consequences of which are, that "the unrestricted introduction of our manufactures into that country, together with our *underselling them in every market in the world,* must deprive of employment vast numbers of people ; and until some *substitute* be found, it must *be severely felt* not only by the people, but by the revenue *." The evil was, it seems, most extensive. "The greater part of their ships," said Mr. Forbes, "are lying rotting in their rivers." "I know" says *Mr. Trant,* "the distressed state of that country, from the falling off of the manufactures. In Madras alone, FIVE FACTORIES, employing 18,000 men each, had been recently stopped ; and thus in this one instance, nearly 100,000 men had been thrown as a burden upon [illegible] interests †."

If words have a meaning, these declarations tell us, that having by an enormous loss, (for so the evidence before the Foreign Trade Committee informs us,) little short of ruin to the British manufacturer, "*superseded,*" that is beat out of their own market, "and every market in the world;" all the Indian manufacturers, and left them poor, idle, and naked : we must,

* Liverpool Report, pages 47 and 55.

† Debate, India House, June 19th 1822.

in order to procure them food and labour, set these Indian manufacturers to cultivate Sugar, and to render it a profitable business to them, reduce the whole population in the West Indies, or connected with those possessions, to the same wretched condition to which the East Indian manufacturer is now reduced, by our cheap manufactures. Could the propagators of such dangerous reveries have allowed themselves to think for a moment, they must have perceived that a greater insult than the statements here quoted convey, were never before offered to the understandings of a suffering, or feelings of a vanquished people. Weak, it is feared, must be the fabric of that political power that rests upon such a foundation.

It is readily admitted that the East India population are entitled to our attention, protection, and relief, where the latter is necessary, and to the utmost of our power; but admitting this, it remains yet to be shewn, why the West Indies so cruelly distressed themselves, should be singled out to make all the sacrifice, or make good that loss which the British manufacturer has occasioned to India? It can, without difficulty, be shewn, that other and more effectual methods remain to relieve India, without injuring directly any British interest.

If India is to be relieved and benefitted, and her "*raw products*" exchanged for British manufactures, why is not this relief afforded by *prohibiting* the introduction of Foreign Sugar into India, which would encourage the cultivation and manufacture of it in the British Territories; or by setting the *ci-devant* manufacturers of India to cultivate cotton? The land, the climate, the capital, the strength, the habits and pursuits of the Indian population, are all much better adapted to that kind of easy, idle work, then to the laborious and more uncertain pursuit of cultivating Sugar. There cannot be a doubt that, if proper attention were paid, and encouragement given, that cotton might be produced in India, equal to that which our manufacturers obtain from other quarters. *Silk*, also is a production congenial to the soil and climate of Bengal, and we pay vast sums for it to Foreign nations. Why is not, the cultivation or production of it more encouraged in India? The official report so often referred to tells us, that Cotton is more profitable than either Sugar or grain; that it yields quicker returns, and requiring less labour, is more agreeable to the habits of a poor and indolent people*. This

* Report, 1st App. pages. 74, 99.—Although the cultivation of the Cane is more profitable than Barley, it is MUCH LESS PROFITABLE THAN

country imports about 600,000 bales of cotton annually, worth about £7,000,000, sterling, from Foreign countries which not only maintain slavery, but carry on the slave trade to cultivate and extend the cultivation of that article. All this, a sum greater, taking nothing into account for their increased production of silk, than the present united imports of India and China, might be taken from the former without injuring any British possession. It is to these Britain and the people of India ought to look for relief and mutual advantage. Why Mr. Cropper, who is deeply engaged in the trade to the United States maintained by Slaves, should not recommend this plan, or rather, why he should keep it altogether out of view, we are at no loss to understand? but, why the Reviewer, who is not an American merchant, should pass it over, can only be explained, by supposing that he is either extremely ignorant on commercial subjects, or that he shuts his eyes wilfully against facts and justice.

When the trade to India was, as it was erroneously called, laid open to British subjects, the East India Company, and more especially

Cotton. The latter, comparatively speaking, requires little expense and labour. Silk is also more profitable to cultivate than Sugar. The Mulberry tree thrives well in Bengal.

the free traders, boasted how they would supply our manufacturers with cotton, to the exclusion of the cotton of Foreign Powers. The result is known. As Mr. Robertson very justly observed in the India House, 19th March, 1823, from the immense importation of 240,000 bales, only a few years ago; the import last year had from the ruinous loss upon the article, dwindled down to 20,000 bales, for which there was no sale, even at greatly losing prices. It is beat out of the market by cotton, raised by slaves, in other quarters, and on account of its inferior quality and superior prices. The East India Sugar stands in exactly the same situation.

"India goods being light," says the Review, "every ship of 500 tons burden, must bring 200 tons ballast, but the repeal of the protecting duty, would permit Sugar to be brought home as *dead weight*, and consequently relieve our merchants from the unheard of necessity of employing *two* fifths of their ships engaged in the East India trade, to import the sand of the Ganges to England. The American and continental traders, are relieved from this burden; and if it is continued on those of England, it will end, and that at no distant day, by throwing the whole trade of India into the hands of their rivals*." The East India Company in

* Edin. Rev. No. 75, p. 222.

their report, 1791, put forth exactly similar statements.

The novel principle here laid down, is, that wherever theory and speculation conceive that they could drive a profitable trade, any trade established, however beneficial, should be destroyed, in order to render the other secure. In order to procure *dead weight*—freight for Indian ships which can find only *light* goods, the trade of the West Indies which has scarcely any "*light goods*," is to be reduced to ballast! The Reviewer could not possibly have adduced a stronger argument against the concession he requires.

But who is to blame for this "unheard of necessity,—this burden from which American and continental traders are relieved," namely, that British ships are compelled to come loaded, "*two fifths* with the sand of the Ganges?" It is the East India Company. This fact is altogether kept out of view, though it is the only one which bears on the question.

It is to their unwise regulations, which prohibit ships of less tonnage than 350 tons, from trading to any port or place within the limits of their charter, except to a few ports in India, for which they must enter from Britain direct, with all their cargo. To this absurd regulation, neither the Americans nor the continental traders are subject. These come from whence they please.

Go whither they please—and trade as they please. British subjects are not permitted to do so. It is true, that by a bill passed in the last Session of Parliament, ships of any tonnage may enter for the Indian trade; but this boon is completely neutralized, by the clause which prevents them from trading to any part of the East coast of Africa, the Red Sea, and the Eastern Archipelago, till they have first entered at a port between the River Indus, and the Malay Peninsula, within the immediate territory and government of the East India Company.

Such regulations and restrictions as these have driven the trade of the East literally into the hand of foreigners. Independent of their great trade with Hindostan, the United States at this moment, carry on nearly as great a trade with Canton, as the East Indian Company do*;

* Imports at Canton.
British.

From Europe	£1,185,062
From India, &c.	2,128,745
Total	£3,313,807

Exports from Canton.

To Britain	£2,091,216
To India	1,701,405
	£3,792,621

In 17 ships, 21,217 tons.

Imports at Canton.
American.

Goods and treasure	10,600,930
Dollars	
	£2,650,177

Exports from Canton.

Tea, goods, &c. Dollars	9,041,751
	£2,041,751

exclusive of direct trade from Canton to Europe, one item of which is four millions lbs. tea, in 46 ships, tons 16,022.

American trade to India, 1817–18

Imports to	£ 876,268
Exports from	1,446,488

Do. do.

Parliamentary Papers, and Report Foreign Trade Committee.

every particle of which, as the most competent and experienced judges assert, would fall into the hands of British subjects, were they only placed upon the same footing as the Americans.

The evidence adduced before the Foreign Trade Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons, places these facts in the strongest point of view. From that evidence one case is selected, which speaks volumes. When New South Shetland was discovered, a vessel named the Eliza, commanded by Capt. Powell, and formerly a Berwick Smack, was at Rio de Janeiro, whither she had gone with a cargo from the Clyde. Captain Powell proceeded from Rio de Janeiro to New South Shetland, where, in a very short time, he caught a great number of seals, with the skins of which he proceeded to London, where he sold them for 17*s*. 6*d*. each, making a most profitable voyage. He proceeded on a second, and though he caught, in the short period of time, from November 29th, till the 9th of January following, 18,000 seals, so great was the number of adventurers by that time in the fishery, that he could only procure 4*s*. 6*d*. each for the skins in the London market. But the greater hardship was, that an American schooner fishing side-by-side with him, proceeded with her cargo (9000 seals) direct from New South Shetland, (which the British vessel was

not allowed to do), to Canton, where she sold her seal skins for four dollars (20*s.*) each, and having done so, took in a cargo of tea, and other Chinese goods, with which she departed for the continent of Europe, and on which she would make at least a profit of 100 per cent.* The East India Company in their report have incautiously adduced a similar instance. The Bengal Board of Trade, quote an instance of an American ship in 1792, which after catching a cargo of fish in the Southern seas, proceeded with it to Bengal, where she sold her cargo to advantage, and there took in a cargo of Sugar for the United States, by which also she made a profitable voyage†.

From this trade, and the mode of trading, British subjects are excluded in the East by the monopoly and foolish restrictions imposed for and by the East India Company; and before the West Indies are sacrificed, in order that India may be relieved, it is only just and proper that the Company should lay open to British subjects, from every quarter, that trade within her limits and their charter, which the East India Company neither carry on nor want to carry on; but which the "Americans and the continental traders"

* Evidence of Mr. Powell before Foreign Trade Committee.

† Report, 1st App. page 59.

are permitted to carry on. Let but the East Company and Great Britain as they can do, and what in honesty they ought to do, lay open the trade every where, within the limits of their charter, (except the supply of tea from Canton to Britain) let them permit British subjects, in ships of any tonnage, to trade to and barter as they please or find it profitable—let them but do this, which can be done without any *injury* to the East Indies or to the West Indies, and then British ships and merchants would no longer be reduced to the "*unheard of necessity*" of freighting their ships to England, or to any other place, "*two-fifths with* THE SAND OF THE GANGES."

In No. 75, page 210, article East and West India Sugar, the writer says that the loss occasioned by the destruction of St. Domingo was made up in 1805 and 1806, "*when it entirely ceased.*" The whole supply was thrown into the home market, "when the price sunk to 34*s.* per cwt., a rate which the Committee of the House of Commons stated, was barely equal to the expense of production."

With the exception of the latter part, the whole of this statement, is at variance with facts. St. Domingo, previous to the insurrection in 1791, produced equal to 140,000 hhds. of muscovado Sugar. Not a tenth part of this was

made up by extended cultivation, in our Colonies. The Colonies, however, of the other European powers, came into our possession, and the produce of the whole was thrown upon the British market, by the violent decrees of the idol of the critic—Napoleon. These, and not the increased cultivation of Sugar, occasioned the price to sink so low in the years mentioned, namely, to 34*s.* per cwt., a price which, the Committee of the House of Commons justly stated, to be barely equal to the expense of cultivation, because it was then subject to war freights and charges equal to 15*s.* per cwt. exclusive of war charges, for supplies for carrying on the cultivation. When these things are taken into consideration, it will be found that 34*s.* per cwt. now, is equal to 40*s.* at the period mentioned; and as a further proof that the loss of St. Domingo was not made up, the price of Sugar rose in 1813 and 1814, to upwards of 60*s.* per cwt. It is unnecessary to quote authorities in support of these statements. They are fresh in the memory of all, and it is extraordinary if the Reviewer should have forgotten the facts.

In page 211, we are told that the distress of the West Indies, arises from "*over production,*" and that to relieve it, we "must adjust the supply of Sugar, proportionally to the effective demand,

when the price would certainly rise to its proper level." To expect relief from any other source is "error and delusion."

Yet in the face of this "over production," we are recommended to follow Mr. Cropper's "profound" counsel, and set about producing twenty million tons more of Sugar in India, and to admit the same into the British market, in order to relieve the distress of both hemispheres. How profound! And before proceeding further, it may be asked, what would our manufacturers and agriculturists say, if they were told to adjust their supply to the demand, in order that East India Rice, and manufactures, might by way of "*dead weight*" be admitted upon equal terms, and more abundantly into this country? But the Reviewer, whose *memory*, on such subjects, was never very good, has in his following page (212) explained the cause of the distress of both the East India, and West India, Sugar trade, in a few words:—"*They cannot come in competition with the fertile soils of the Brazils, Cuba, and* St. Domingo." The latter country might have been excepted, for it, like India, produces very little Sugar, (not sufficient for home consumption) and exports so little, that it is scarcely worth noticing. But in the other two places, the fertile soils and in-

creased, and increasing Slave trade, have produced such a quantity of Sugar, and at such a low rate, that not only the produce of the West Indies, but the boasted cheap produce of the East Indies *to which every market is, and always has been open*, are undersold, and driven out of every foreign market. The Reviewer knows little, if he does not know this *.

* The market of continental Europe, and lesser Asia, remained open to them; and from the East India Report, 4th. App. p. 44, 45, 46, it appears that the Company confidently expected to carry on a very considerable trade with these parts, but the influx of Sugar from the other side of the Atlantic, has completely destroyed their plans.

CHAPTER III.

West Indies charged with continuing the African Slave Trade.—Refuted from Official Documents.—Foreign Slave Trade.—Great Extent—extended, not diminished.—Ruin to our Colonies.—Wrong Method chosen to suppress it.—Sierra Leone.—Immense Expense it has cost this Country.—Yields Nothing, &c. &c.

HAVING by incorrect statements, and the misrepresentations which have been above exposed, led astray the understandings, and raised expectations in the minds of his readers that can never be realized, the Reviewer, as if aware that something was wanting, proceeds to appeal to the passions, by recurring to the hacknied charge against the West Indies—the Slave trade.

"Free labour," says he, "is at present so high in the West Indies, as to hold out an overwhelming temptation to import Slaves. It is well known that that detestable traffic is carried

on at this moment, in spite of all that has been done to check it, to a greater extent, and under circumstances of greater barbarity than ever. Nor is it really possible to prevent this traffic by mere dint of restrictions." The real question with regard to the East India Sugar question is, "whether the Slave trade shall be really and truly abolished? Whether we shall remove the present irresistible temptation to commit a crime we have made punishable by death. There is, in fact, but one way to put down West India Slavery, and that is by allowing the produce raised by comparatively cheap free labour to come into competition with that raised by Slaves. Bryan Edwards," adds the Critic, "had no doubt concerning the practicability of 'carrying Slaves into *every island in the West Indies, in spite* of the maritime force of all Europe. No man can hesitate a moment to pronounce that an attempt to prevent the introduction of Slaves into the West India Colonies, would be like that of chaining the winds, or giving laws to the ocean.' (Edwards, vol. 2d. page 136). And therefore says, the Reviewer, we must not trust to Registry Laws, and such devices to prevent their importation *."

The charge here made is as direct and strong

* Edin. Rev. vol. 39, pages 223 & 224.

as language can make it, namely, that the Slave trade from Africa is, at this moment, carried on by our West India Colonies with "greater barbarity than ever," in the teeth of laws which render it a crime "punishable by death."

Here things must be called by their right names, and without circumlocution I state, that the charge is false—a calumny without the shadow of a foundation. Since the abolition in 1808, there has not been a single African Slave introduced illegally into our West India Colonies, and the Reviewer and his coadjutors had, or ought to have had, before their eyes, the proof that such is the fact*.

* To substantiate this, the following official documents are referred to:

On the 2d July 1811, the House of Commons voted an address to the Prince Regent, praying that he would order an account to be laid before them of all seizures made, and prosecutions entered under, and violations of the Abolition Laws. In compliance with this prayer, the Governors of the different Colonies made their returns, which were, by the Prince Regent's command, laid upon the table of the House of Commons, July 12th, 1815, and printed by their order. The result of this inquiry was, that from the following islands, viz.—Barbadoes, Dominica, Demerara, the Bahamas, St. Vincent's, Guadaloupe, St. Thomas, St. Lucia, Bermuda, Surinam, Curaçoa, Jamaica, Antigua, Montserrat, Grenada, Martinique, and Tobago; the returns to the order were *nil*, and not only so, but several of the Governors go out of the line of their strict official duty, to repel with indignation a contrary supposition.

But on this head a stronger testimony yet remains, and that is the authority of the BRITISH SOVEREIGN.

Speaking in his name, and by his command, to the Legislature of Jamaica, on the subject of the Registry Bill, the Duke of Manchester says,

That the Slave trade continues, and is carried on to an immense extent by foreign nations, is a lamentable and undeniable fact, and the ig-

" he had been ESPECIALLY INSTRUCTED to give the most satisfactory assurances, that it does not proceed from any impression which his Majesty's Government has received of the actual existence of the evil complained of—NO EVIDENCE having been brought forward of any systematic violation of the abolition laws IN THE WEST INDIES, nor is it believed that there has been ANY clandestine importation of slaves into Jamaica. And," says his Grace, in his communication to his Majesty, in obedience to the return alluded to, and ordered by the House of Commons, " NO VIOLATION of the laws passed for the abolition of the Slave trade has taken place here;"—Nay more, says the Duke, " I feel that I should do the people of this Colony an act of INJUSTICE, were I not to express my confident opinion, that not only NO VIOLATION of the abolition laws has taken place, but THAT THERE IS NO DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE PLANTERS TO INCREASE THEIR SLAVES BY SUCH MEANS."

Nor is this all. By returns to the House of Commons printed last Session of Parliament, Papers No. 89–2; 343–3, containing an account of the import and export of Slaves into every Colony since the abolition in 1808, as the same is made up by the respective governors and collectors, there is not returned, as imported or exported, one single Negro from Africa, or that had been brought from it in any manner, and to any place, during that period.

But not only has there been no violation of the abolition laws known in the West India Colonies, but there is the unquestionable authority of Sir George Collier, our late naval commander on the coast of Africa (see his Report, given in and printed by order of the House of Commons last year, Parliamentary Paper, No. 233–4), to state, that neither British subjects, capital, nor our flag, are engaged in carrying on the Slave trade to any quarter; for the trifling exception in the following extracts warrants this conclusion.

" In my Report of last year," says Sir George, " I stated to their Lordships my full persuasion, that neither English subjects, capital, nor flag, were known in the Slave trade; in the course of my last year's service, by the capture of the Anna Maria, my suspicions were raised, and I regret they were by my absence when this vessel's case was decided at

norance or disingenuity of the Reviewer in not stating explicitly and candidly this fact, is most reprehensible. The continuation of the trade is not a matter of surprise, it was clearly foreseen and predicted, that such would be the result whenever the abolition took place by this country; but this prediction was scorned and ridiculed by the Reviewer and his associates. Day after day, the fact that the Slave trade with Africa was vanquished by the British abolition was loudly proclaimed by a party in this country, whose words and declarations it is heresy to doubt or dispute, and the broad and undeniable fact, that the colonies of foreign powers, formerly wilderness, were rising into opulence from being cultivated by Slaves, and

Sierra Leone, neither confirmed nor removed; her owner was clearly shewn to be connected with the house of Messrs. Hutton and Bright, of Cuba; her supercargo bore the name of Matthew Smith, but, when it suited, he had a Spanish name also; several circumstances gave strong suspicion, but I had no means of investigation after the condemnation of the vessel.

" With the exception of this case, of that of George Gardner, a mate of the Anna Maria, who confessing himself an English subject, was left for trial at Sierra Leone, and of two or three English seamen I found in the Slave vessels, induced, as they said, and as I believe, to embark in the understanding that they were only to cruise under the colours of ARTEGAS against the Spaniards; I had NO REASON TO SUSPECT A BRITISH SUBJECT engaged or concerned in the Slave trade."

It would be to insult the good sense of the reader to multiply authorities or quotations farther upon this topic, after such clear and unimpeachable testimony.

that these Colonies were exporting as much produce as the whole of our trans-atlantic Colonies; convinced the world that the Slave trade was in full vigour. Inquiry shewed, that instead of being diminished, it was quadrupled; and now the Reviewer comes forward, and tells us, after all his schemes have failed, and his predictions have been falsified, that "it is impossible to prevent this trade by mere dint of restrictions." Certainly not. In this way Britain has expended millions, and brought her own Colonies to the verge of ruin, [illegible] the smallest benefit to Africa, and in [illegible] nner she may expend millions more, [illegible] be as far from her purpose as ever. W[illegible] his so? Because we set down the Slave trade as the cause of African ignorance and barbarity, instead of its being the consequence thereof—because we still act upon this fatal delusion, and have taken no measures whatever to introduce amongst the natives of Africa that civilization, trade, and commerce, which alone can open the eyes of Africa to her fatal error, and shew her, without intermeddling with any one of her internal customs or pursuits, so as to alarm her mind, or awaken her suspicion, that it is more profitable to turn her Slave population to cultivate her own fields, than to sell them to cultivate the fields of others.

Do this, shew the African powers that you will give them more for the produce of the ground, than for the hands they may command to cultivate it, and they will put an end to the Slave trade themselves. Without this, all the efforts of Europe will prove vain to make any impression on Africa; and cutting off all the European Slave trade, were it even possible to do so, will scarcely dry up one tear of the streams that have flowed for three thousand years, and yet flow, to swell the flood of African misery and African degradation.

It was not Europe that created this trade, or caused these tears to flov. The trade and its miseries existed in all their virulence, and all their strength, when Europeans first visited the western shores of Africa, and many—two hundred years before the European Slave trade commenced. "The abolition itself," says Governor Ludlam (who knew Africa well), in his excellent Letter sent to, but suppressed for seven years by, Mr. Macaulay, "will not prevent the Africans from remaining a savage and uncivilized people. To abolish the Slave trade is not to abolish the *violent passions* which now find vent in that particular quarter. Were it to cease, the *misery of Africa* would arise from other causes; but it does not follow

that Africa would be less miserable; she might even be less miserable, and yet be *savage and uncivilized.* This will doubtless be acknowledged: and it may be asked, why I repeat so obvious a truth? I answer, because the writings of the abolitionists leave a contrary impression. They speak of the darkness in which WE have kept Africa, and of the happiness which she may now look forward to, as if it were an unquestionable fact, that Africa would have been civilized, had it not been for the Slave trade: nay, further, that civilization, Christianity, and happiness, are now to be looked forward to, as the natural effects of abolition. They say not this in direct terms; to do so would sufficiently expose the absurdity; but it is an obvious, and sometimes an unavoidable conclusion, from what they do say. Those who are more cautious, speak as if a friendly intercourse with the Africans must naturally take place after the abolition, and as if civilization would naturally follow from a friendly intercourse: how much nearer the truth to affirm, that a *self-interested* intercourse will take place; and that *injuries, retaliations,* WARS AND CONQUESTS, will be the natural effects of *any* intercourse. That civilization will follow conquests, I more readily allow *."

* Letter, Ludlam to Macaulay, 14th April 1807.

It may be of importance, and is not foreign to the subject, to place before the reader the prodigious extent to which the Slave trade is still carried on, and the enormous and useless sacrifices which Great Britain has made to put an end to it.

" In the short space of 18 months" says Sir Robert Mends, " there sailed from the FOUR *Northernmost rivers* in the Bight of Biafra, 424 vessels, many of them carrying from 500 to 1000 Slaves; but by allowing the very moderate average of 250 to each vessel, it will make 106,000 Slaves." From Bonny river alone, 126 vessels sailed in four months; and from Cameroons, 177! " Vast as this is" says Sir Robert, " it falls *infinitely* short of the reality, as many ships have sailed with *full cargoes* from other places to the *Northward of the line,* of which we have no account. Great numbers are also transported from the main to the island of St. Thomas, and Prince's, and thence to the Brazils. *Equal in extent to all these shipments,* are those made to the *Southward of the Line,* of which we have no correct knowledge, but where no interruption whatever is given to them*." Sir Robert proceeds to state, that so far from the

* Sir Robert Mend's Despatch, June 26, 1822, pages 8 and 9, Parliamentary Paper, No. 556.

Slave trade being diminished "the reverse *is the fact.*" It is carried on with "fearless impudence by the subjects of France, Spain, and Portugal, and a lingering disposition to favour this commerce exists amongst the *natives* along the whole line of coast, with the exception of Sierra Leone." The beneficial effects which were predicted from this settlement of free people, have totally failed. At Gallenas, only one hundred miles from the settlement, says Sir Charles Macarthy, "*fourteen vessels* took in cargoes of Slaves, and sailed *in four months.* The trade was there flourishing and carried on to *a greater extent* than it ever had been at any former period*." Every possible encouragement is given to it by the native Princes, who ridicule the idea of attempting to put an end to it†. "Neither mountains, rivers, nor

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 556, Session 1823, page 11.

† "A PREFERENCE is given to those Slaving ships in trade by the natives. There can be no effectual prevention of the trade, unless a ship of war were anchored AT EACH OF THE PLACES, which is impracticable. The cargo of Slaves is collected ready on shore, and embarked as appears convenient. The Slave vessels will embark a cargo of Slaves in TWO HOURS. Information travels so rapidly from river to river by the creeks of this country, that the news," says Capt. Leeke, "of my having taken the vessels from Bonny, reached Cameroons a week before I appeared off. When I strongly urged King PEPPEL to put an end to the Slave Trade, he replied that it was HIS CHIEF SUPPORT; but if the King of England would send him ANNUALLY *a seventy-four gun ship laden with goods*, he would give it up!"—Parliamentary Papers, No. 556, Session 1823, &c. Despatches, Sir George Collier and others.

deserts, will prove barriers to the Slave trade," says Sir James Lucas Yeo, "as the black Chiefs will bring Slaves from every part of Africa, as long as there is a nation that will afford them a Slave market*.

Such is the state and such the prospects for the annihilation of the Slave trade. The object for which Sierra Leone was established, is equally unpromising, notwithstanding the gaudy colouring thrown over it, and permitted to be thrown over it by those whose hobby horse it has been. It has lately, by the influence of the African Institution, been made the capital of all our African Settlements on the west coast north of the line, and the seat of the government; a choice from its geographical position, as wise as if Barbadoes were selected as the seat of government for Jamaica and Cuba. "Another great objection to Sierra Leone," says Sir James Lucas Yeo, "arises from its being at such a distance directly to the windward of where the Slave vessels are captured, which is generally the Bight of Benin and Biafra. The vessels are always crowded and sickly, and the *mortality* in making the passage *exceeds one tenth.* Add to this, the climate is *detestable,* the rains commencing in the

* Parliamentary Papers about Slave trade, July 17th 1817, page 2.

end of April, and continuing till the middle of October; it proves the grave of most Europeans who go there, and even those who escape the grave, linger out a painful and miserable existence. *

On this wretched ill-chosen spot (of which I shall have occasion to speak more fully in the sequel), and, in order raise *it* into notice and *importance*, this nation, and individuals have, in one way or the other, expended nearly *Five* millions sterling †! Yet, notwithstanding all

* Parliamentary Papers about Slave Trade, July 17th 1817, page 2.

† From Parliamentary Papers, No. 539, of Session 1821, and No. 177, of Session 1822, it appears that the following sums have been paid by this Country, viz.

Portuguese claims for captures	£110,882	8	6
Spain, by treaty 1817	400,000	0	0
Portugal, by treaty in 1815	348,904	0	0
Do. loan remitted, balance 1815	601,774	7	9
William Cotton, prize agent, Sierra Leone	3,703	19	10½
Bounties paid sundries by treasury	54,728	16	8
Do. by Navy pay-office, till March 1822	273,670	0	0
Bounties for captures above-mentioned	65,000	0	0
Interest for sums advanced, cost	600,000	0	0
Total	£2,458,660	11	11½

To this must be added about £100,000 more granted to pay Portugal—a long list of unsettled Spanish claims—from £6000 to £8000 per annum for several years for Commissioners in various parts to settle Slave captures, the expense of £10 for each captured negro for clothing, food, &c. &c. the support of ten or twelve ships of war on that part of the African station—about £60,000 per annum for several years, the expense of the Sierra Leone establishment—the loss of the original capital £240,000, and the advance of £100,000 additional by the Company, with all these items, we have *part* of what Sierra Leone and the abolition have directly cost this country

this, the place continues in a most wretched state as to trade, commerce, and improvement. "After all the sums of money" says Sir James Lucas Yeo, "expended in its improvement, it is *still in a most deplorable state.* Great abuses and mismanagement are said to have existed, and certainly to judge from its present *wretched state*, the reports appear to have been too well founded." Sir George Collier, in 1821, mentions one fact to show its advancement, when he states that the streets of Freetown, the capital, were covered with grass, and the indigo plant growing as if in a field *. From first to last from 35,000 to 40,000 captured negroes must have been carried there, and liberated and settled. By the *Eleventh* Report of the African Institution, page 33, we are informed that the population in 1816 was only 10,000, I say only 10,000 persons, because Sir James Lucas Yeo, of the same date, states that *more* than 20,000 captured negroes had been sent to Sierra Leone, of which more than 2000 had perished in the voyage up from Leeward. A still greater number must have been carried there since 1816. The captures since that period have been very numerous. In the course of eighteen months, ending March 1823, the squadron under the

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 223, Session 1822, page 15.

command of *Sir Robert Mends* carried into and liberated in Sierra Leone 4392 negroes *. Yet, notwithstanding this remarkable influx of population, and the great increase which must necessarily be among them where they are free, and enjoy the full blessing of the "*marriage tie*" the population of that celebrated colony, according to Mr. Clarkson, is now *reduced* to only 14,000 †. What has become of all the rest, exclusive of the Nova Scotian blacks, and the disbanded soldiers of the West India regiments? They would not surely leave that paradise. The cruelty of West India task-masters, and "*a degrading, promiscuous intercourse,*" cannot have lessened their numbers and prevented their increase. What then has become of them? It would be desirable so see returns—*honest and fair* returns of the population of that "*Grave to Europeans,*" and as it would appear to negroes also ‡.

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 556, Session 1823.

† Clarkson's "THOUGHTS," page 17.

‡ "There is no doubt," says the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, 11th Report, page 34, "very much to deplore on the score of religion, on the SCORE OF MORALS, on the score of manners, or of the social tact, as derived from both religion and morals; on the score of depraved but inveterate habits, and of LINGERING BARBARISM AND TARDY IMPROVEMENT, in Sierra Leone." These things may in some measure account for the decrease.

CHAPTER IV.

Statements of the Anti-colonists that Sugar is cultivated in India by free men instead of Slaves.—Not correct.—Slaves in India—the cultivators of the soil.—Females sold as slaves for the purpose of prostitution. This practice common in the East.—Miserable situation of the free farmers in India.—Wretched state of their Slaves.—The numbers of the latter very great.—Hard labour—bad food—herd with cattle.—Inflammatory and deceitful statements of the Reviewer, Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Cropper, on these points, as directed against our West India Colonies, examined and refuted.

THE next point which merits our serious consideration, is the bold and imprudent assertion, that the labour in India is performed entirely by free men; that there are no Slaves in India, and therefore that the produce of that part of our Empire should have a decided preference over, and meet with every encouragement before, our West India Colonies. "*Mr. Cropper's* views on these subjects" says the Reviewer, "are *equally enlightened and profound**." Well, let us attend to them for a moment. "It

* Edinburgh Review, No. 75, page 224.

has been asserted, that encouraging Sugar in the East Indies is only employing Slaves in the East Indies instead of Slaves in the West. Now, to this I give" says Mr. Cropper " an unqualified negative. No Slavery does exist in Bengal, or the Northern Provinces where Sugar is cultivated *." Such are the enlightened and profound views of Mr. Cropper. Let us put them to the test by *superior* and better authority. " Slavery" says the Reviewer, on the authority of that *unimpeachable* authority, *Sir Henry Colebrooke*, " is not *unknown* in Bengal. Throughout some districts the labours of husbandry are executed chiefly by *bond servants*. In certain districts the ploughmen are mostly Slaves of the peasants (Slaves of the peasants !), for whom they labour, and in some places the landholders have a claim to the servitude of thousands among the inhabitants of their estates †."

So much for Mr. Cropper's " *profound*" knowledge. The fact so long, so loudly, and so pertinaciously denied, but here admitted; namely, that there *are* Slaves in India—in Bengal, the greatest Sugar district; shortens my labour greatly in being obliged to wade through authorities to establish the fact. But says the Reviewer,

* Protection West India Sugar, page 48.

† Edinburgh Review, No. 75, page 224.

these "*Bondmen*" (softening the expression in compliment to East India power and favour) SLAVES, are not treated with that cruelty and inhumanity, that the Slaves in our West India possessions are, nor are there "any Foreign Slaves imported" into India. Of this I am not so certain, and cannot altogether take the word of the Reviewer. But as he states the case, it makes greatly against the Slavery established in India, compared to that established in the West Indies. Granting that no Foreign Slaves are imported into India, (that is Africans) it is abundantly plain, that the population of India make Slaves of one another—brother of brother—the father of the children—fellow subject of fellow subject, a species of Slavery, by far the most degrading, pernicious, and the worst that ever scourged mankind; in fact, scarcely ever known amongst the barbarous nations which inhabited Europe and the parts of Asia contiguous thereto. This kind of Slavery was, amongst the Jews, considered the greatest crime, and while making Slaves of foreigners by purchase was permitted, the direct Anathema of the Almighty was directed against *it;* and the frequent violations of this law, formed one of the most serious accusations brought against his chosen people. The practice of it amongst them, as it has done

amongst every other nation, brought with it foreign domination, and whenever the population of India shall burst the fetters of that ignorance and superstition which now degrades them, and shall give up the barbarous practice of enslaving their own offspring instead of buying foreigners, they will from that moment cease to be, I will not say "Bondmen," but servants to the distant potentates of Europe.

But when the Reviewer states that there are "no Foreign Slaves" imported into India, he is evidently mistaken. There are millions of Mahommedans in India; and the practice of importing beautiful young female Slaves to sell them for concubines, has always prevailed wherever that faith extended. It did prevail in India during many ages, and still, I believe, the practice is continued. It is to this trade, I presume, that *Mr. Dixon* alluded, at the meeting of the East India Directors*, when in answer to some of those loquacious members, who were asserting that there were no Slave labourers in India, he said, he did not think, that importing Slaves to till the ground, was worse than selling females for the "*purpose of prostitution.*" Assuming the fact that the practice which did prevail in India, still

* Speech, India House, 25th July 1822. Mr. Trant then admitted that "girls were sold for the purpose of prostitution."

prevails there amongst that part of the population, namely, that of importing young, WHITE female Slaves for the purpose of prostitution from Cashmere, Cashgar, the Banks of the Oxus, and the shores of the Caspian Sea, the annexed sketch of that trade, as practised amongst Mahommedans elsewhere, may give the reader (as Mahommedan customs do not vary) some idea of a system of Slavery and of a Slave trade which certainly does not prevail in the West Indies, and of which they have never been accused, but which may be witnessed, under the British authority in India*.

* Irby's and Mangle's Travels in Nubia, Syria, &c. "At Hamar we witnessed a melancholy scene. There arrived one evening four shabby looking, ill-dressed Turks, attired somewhat like soldiers, and an elderly knave better clad, though no better looking than the others. These people brought with them eleven Georgian girls, the remnant of between forty and fifty, as we were informed, whom they had stolen or kidnapped from their parents on the confines of Georgia; they were brought to be sold as Slaves or mistresses to such wealthy Turks as could afford to bid high sums for such unfortunate victims. Those poor girls were lodged in the cells contiguous to ours; they were mostly between fifteen and twenty years of age; two were younger, being about twelve. They were all exceedingly pretty, with black sparkling eyes, rosy cheeks, long black hair, and very fair complexions, giving a very strong contradiction to the account which Volney writes of the Georgian and Circassian women, where he says that their fame for beauty arises more from the fancy of travellers, heightened by the difficulty they have always found to get a sight of them, than from any real merit they possess in this respect! The prices which were demanded and offered for these girls is the best proof of the estimation in which they are held by the Turks, especially when it is known that these people are allowed a plurality of wives. We were

The number of Slaves in India is very great. Abbè du Bois, a very accurate and intelligent writer, and well acquainted with India, tells us that all the PARIAHS, comprehending *one fifth* of the whole population, 22 millions, are "*born Slaves!*" With regard to their boasted treatment, and superiority over West India Slaves the mere fact admitted and stated by the Re-

present at the bidding for one girl by a rich Turk, when fourteen purses, each purse being 500 piastres (£18), were demanded; and although he offered ten, they would not abate one *para;* the poor girl, who was about fifteen, standing up all the while, and hearing the disputes about her purchase. They were all taken out four different times, and conducted through the town to the rich Turkish houses, to be viewed and bid for the same as any other merchandise; and on two occasions considerable parties of the principal inhabitants came to our *khan*, and examined and bid for the unhappy creatures at the door of their cells; they being obliged to stand up in a row, while their several merits were discussed by the several bidders. We saw several candidates for purchasing, of upwards of fifty years of age, while the friendless object of his choice was only fifteen. The diet of these poor unfortunates, considering their sex, was of a character with the rest of their treatment, consisting only of a loaf of bread and a small piece of cheese twice a day; and although we were buying oranges at only two *paras* (a halfpenny) each, we never saw one amongst them all. Whenever the owners went abroad, they locked their charge up in the cells, and carried away the key. Being returned from one of their tours through the town, we heard some bitter lamenting in the cell next to ours, and found that it proceeded from one of the young girls being about to be sold, and consequently separated from her sister and companions. The mode of conducting these girls from town to town is on horseback; in this manner they had been brought from Georgia, being exposed for sale at all the principal towns as they came along. They were now destined for Damascus, where it was thought a good mart would be found for them; they set out on their melancholy journey two days before we did."

view, that they are " Slaves to the peasants" of India, would convince any person but the most obstinately prejudiced, that their condition must be very different, and very wretched indeed. In order to ascertain this more distinctly and correctly it may be proper to consider, particularly, the situation of the superior part of the agricultural population of India. A reference to Dow's history of Hindostan, will enable us to ascertain that correctly, and prepare the way for estimating more justly, the *happy* state of the Slave population of India. The annexed extract from the work mentioned, will explain the former, and after perusing the same, it is not possible that the most inveterate foe of the West India Colonies, can longer refrain from acknowledging, that the condition of the Slaves in our West India Colonies is not only much superior to the condition of the Slaves in Hindostan, but even to the highest class of farmers in it. But it may be said, that matters are greatly improved in India since the period to which Dow alludes. It is probable in several points that they are so, but the writers of subsequent periods, and the report already referred to, shew us that the improvement is little indeed, and that poverty, ignorance, and wretchedness, still overspread India, nor can it be otherwise, in a country where the free la-

bourer earns, and can obtain, only 2*d.* per day for his labour*. In Ireland, the Parliamentary Report of last Session tells us, that the wages to the labourers in several districts, were only 4*d.* per day, and that pittance not always to be obtained. The misery and distress amongst a numerous population, were in consequence alarmingly great. What then must the distress be in India, where the hire of the labourer is only *one half*—TWO PENCE per day?

"The Nabobs of Bengal began the ruinous policy of farming out the lands annually, leaving the wretched tenants to the oppression and tyranny of temporary Zemindars. At the commencement of every year, there is a general Congress of all the great farmers, at the capital of Bengal; which meeting, in the language of the country, is called *Punea*. The object of the Congress is to settle the accounts of the former year, and to give the lands for another year to the highest bidder.

"Pretences were never wanting to intimidate them on account of their past conduct; and where no competitors offer themselves, some are created by the minister, to raise anxiety and terror. Presents are an infallible remedy, to quash all inquiries into former oppressions, and a bribe secures to them the power of exercising, for another year, their tyrannies over their unhappy tenants.

"When they seem rich, the impost is raised; and the bribe must in proportion be greater. The love of money is often more powerful, than the fear of bodily pain. WHEN THEY HAVE LONG GROANED UNDER THE LASH, some banker, or money-broker appears, who, for the exorbitant interest of 10 per cent., per month, discharges the debt. The farmer by such means as these, often deceives the minister and the resident, and obtains his lands for another year, because no one else will offer a sum, which the possessor finds so much difficulty to pay. A friend in the secret, gives security for the rents; and a present thrown into the hands of the minister suspends, for A TIME, the discipline of the WHIP.

* Official Report, 1st. Appendix, p. 80. In

"In the year 1767, the author of the inquiry, who resided at that time in Bengal, had the curiosity to calculate the expense of the BUNDERBUST, or yearly settlement. He formed his estimate from the accounts of various Zemindars; and he avers, without exaggeration, that the expense amounted to 27½ per cent, of the rents of their lands; which may amount to a million sterling. These trivial perquisites were shared between MAHOMMED RIZA, his friends, and the bankers of Moorshedabad. The place of the Company's resident at the *Durbar*, or the court of the Nabob, was HONESTLY worth one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year.

"When the sources of government are corrupted, they poison the whole stream. Every petty officer in the state, every clerk of the revenues assumed the tyrant in his own department. Justice was totally suspended; and the fear of being plundered by a superior, was the only check that remained against the commission of the most atrocious crimes. Every instance of abstaining from the most cruel oppressions, proceeded from indolence,—every act of tyranny from the love of money. The distemper of avarice, in the extreme, seemed to infect all, whom the WRATH OF GOD against a devoted people, had placed in power.

"The consequences of this mode of letting the lands in Bengal, was such as with little foresight, might have been expected. Nothing in the conquered provinces was premeditated but rapine. Every thing but plunder was left to chance and necessity, which imposed their own laws. The farmers, having no certainty of holding their lands beyond the year, made no improvements. Impressed with the uncertainty of their situation, they raised their rents to the last farthing upon the wretched tenants, who, unwilling to forsake their ancient habitations and household gods, submitted to impositions which they could not pay. They looked up to heaven in their distress; but no redress remained for the wretched.

"Year after year brought new tyrants, or confirmed the old, in the practice of their former oppressions. The tenants, being at length ruined, the farmers were unable to make their contracts with government. Their cruelty to their inferiors recoiled at length upon themselves. MANY of them were bound to stakes and whipped; but their poverty ceased to be feigned. Their complaints were heard in every square in Moorshedabad; and NOT A FEW OF THEM EXPIRED UNDER THE LASH. Many of the inferior tenants, reduced to despair, fled the country, hoping to derive from other despotisms, that lenity, which our indolence, to speak the best of ourselves, denied.

"In proportion as an unfortunate people became less able to bear the

established taxation, the mode of collecting it, became more oppressive Seven entire battalions were added to our military establishments, to enforce the collections. They carried terror and ruin through the country; but poverty was more prevalent than obstinacy every where.

" The Zemindars, or principal farmers, copy the officers of government in tyranny. The *Ryots*, or wretched tenants, are forced to give their labour gratuitously to this transitory lord of a year, whenever he chooses to employ their toil in his fields, when their own farms lie waste for want of cultivation. There is not an article of consumption with which the POOR TENANTS are not obliged to supply the general farmer. The quantity brought is frequently more than his consumption demands; and in these cases, they are FORCED, under the inspection of his servants, TO CARRY THEIR OWN PROVISIONS TO MARKET, and to dispose of these for the use of their lord! They even frequently raise or fall the exchange upon the *Rupees*, against the wretched husbandman; and without even the strength of custom, they exact from the lower sort fees upon births, marriages, and contracts. There is scarce an occurrence upon which they have not invented arbitrary imposts.

" Some of the lands in Bengal go under the designation of *Comad*, having no native tenants; being cultivated by vagrant husbandmen, who wander from place to place in quest of labour. A farmer takes frequently large tracts of these lands upon contract. He obliges himself to be answerable to government for the produce; but he keeps the accounts himself. The vagrant husbandmen whom he employs having neither employment in agriculture nor stock, are, from time to time, supplied with small sums by the farmer, and when the harvest is gathered in, he appropriates to himself *two-thirds* of the crop; after paying himself from the remainder for the interest of the sums advanced to the vagrants. The accounts delivered in to government contain every thing but the truth; and this mode, from our indolence, becoming most profitable to the Zemindar, he wishes to depopulate the country, in some measure, for his own gain.

" Men of speculation may suppose, that the security of property to the natives might infuse a spirit of freedom, dangerous to our power, in our Indian subjects. Nature herself seems to have denied liberty to the inhabitants of the torrid zone. TO MAKE the natives of the fertile soil of Bengal FREE, is beyond the power of political arrangement. The indolence which attends the climate, prevents men from the constant activity and exertion, which is necessary to keep the nice balance of freedom. Their religion, their institutions, their manners, the very dispositions of

their minds, form them for passive obedience. To give them property would only bind them with stronger ties to our interest; and make them more our subjects; or, if the British nation prefers the name—more OUR SLAVES.

"The unlimited power which MAHOMMEDANISM gives to every man in his own family, habituates mankind to Slavery. Every child is taught, from his infancy, to look upon his father, as the absolute disposer of life and death. The number of wives and concubines which the more wealthy and powerful entertain, is a cause of animosity and quarrel, which nothing but a severe and unaccountable power in the master of a family can repress. This private species of despotism is in miniature; the counterpart of what prevails in the state; and it has the same effect in reducing all the passions under the dominion of fear. Jealousy itself, that most violent feeling of the soul, is curbed within the walls of the *Harem*. The women may pine in secret, but they must clothe their features with cheerfulness when their lord appears. Contumacy is productive of immediate punishment. They are DEGRADED, DIVORCED, CHASTISED, AND EVEN SOMETIMES PUT TO DEATH, according to the degree of their crime or obstinacy, or wrath of the offended husband. No inquiry is made concerning their fate. Their friends may murmur, but the LAWS provide NO REDRESS, for no appeal to public justice issues forth from the *Harem*." *(Dow, Vol. iii. p. 92, &c.)*

Surrounded with misery and poverty themselves, it is impossible that the masters, were they even inclined, can administer to the comfort of their Slaves. Accordingly, direct official and unimpeachable testimony assures us, that their condition in India is the most miserable and wretched that can possibly be conceived.

We have it wrung from an East India proprietor himself, (Mr. Trant,) that in India, "*girls are sold for the purpose of prostitution* *." This worst species of Slavery is very

* Trant's Speech, India House, July 25th, 1822.

common in many countries in the East. In Mingrelia so debased and degraded are its inhabitants, that the parents sell their daughters to be scattered over the East for that purpose, and account a large family of daughters the greatest gain they can possess. Will the enemies of the Colonies tell us there is any Slavery, or a Slave trade in the West Indies equal to this? Not only are Slave labourers very numerous in India, but their treatment is harsh in the extreme *. They are banished from the abodes of

* In order to give the reader a correct view of the state of Slavery in India, I shall condense, into as short a compass as possible, the particulars regarding it from various authors, amongst whom Dr. Buchanan's authority is the most valuable, as he was officially employed by the Marquis Wellesley to inquire into the state of the different Provinces of Hindostan.

EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY IN INDIA.

"Their farms are CHIEFLY cultivated in the LOWER CARNATIC, by Slaves of the inferior *castes*, called Sudra and Panchum Bundum. (Buch. vol. 1, p. 19.) In districts of Malabar, "By far the greater part of the labour in the field is performed by SLAVES, or charmur. These are the absolute property of their *devarus* or Lords, and may be employed in any work that their masters please. They are not attached to the soil, but transferred in any manner their masters think fit; only a husband and wife cannot be sold separately, but children may be separated from their parents, and brothers from their sisters. These two tenures are utterly abominable; for the person who exacts the labour and furnishes the subsistence of the Slaves, is directly interested to increase the former and diminish the latter, as much as possible. In fact, the Slaves are very severely treated; and their diminutive stature and squalid appearance show evidently a want of adequate nourishment. There can be no comparison between their condition, and that of the Slaves in the West India Colonies; except that in Malabar there are a sufficient number of females, who are allowed to marry any person of the same caste with

their masters—" kept with the labouring cattle, in a house built at some distance from the abode of freemen,"—they are not allowed to enter the

themselves, and whose labour is alway exacted by their husband's master; the master of the girl having no authority over her, so long as she lives with another man's Slave." *Buchanan*, Vol. ii. p. 370—372. " In CURUMBARA NADA, almost all the farmers *(cudians)* have Slaves; there are a VERY FEW only that are reduced to the necessity of labouring with their own hands. In TULAVA, the cultivation is chiefly carried on by *culiaber*, or hired servants; but there are also some *maladalu*, bought men or Slaves. Having assembled some of the *corar* or *coriavar*, who, under their chief Hubasheea, are said to have once been masters of TULAVA, I found that they are now all Slaves, and have lost every tradition of their former power. In the Northern parts of TULAVA, are two *castes*, called Bocadaru and Baladaru, both of whom are Slaves. When their master has no occasion for their work, they get no wages. The master is bound, however, to prevent the aged or infirm from perishing of want. In HAIGA in the farms of the Brahmins, most of the labour is performed by Slaves. In Soonda, farmers, who are not Brahmins, unless their farms be large, work the whole with their own families; but such men must hire servants or keep Slaves. Men Slaves receive yearly, an allowance of rice, clothes, and money, equal to £2..8..7½., women, 8*s*. 1*d*. In BIDDERAVU, there are very few hired servants but a good many Slaves, by whom, on the farms of the Brahmins, all the ploughing is performed." (*Buchanan*, vol. ii. p. 495; vol. iii. p. 35, 100, 106, 148, 243, & 280.) ABBE DU BOIS states " in truth the *Pariahs* of India are not to be considered in any other light than as the BORN SLAVES of the other tribes."

NUMBERS.

ABBE DU BOIS says " that the *Pariahs* compose one-fifth of the population, from 20 to 22 millions. In one district of Malabar, out of a population of 95,499, there are 16,574 Slaves. In KHERAKUM-BURAM KHADAKUM-BURAM, and PORAWAY there are 4,765. In CANAMORE AND CHERICAL there are 4600 slaves." *(Buchanan*, vol. ii. p. 3, 485, 56.)

PRICE AND TREATMENT.

At MANUPURUM, a Slave when thirty years old costs above 100 fanams, or £2..14..7, with a wife he costs double; children sell at, from 15 to 40 fa-

street where the Brahmins live—it would be pollution to touch them even with the end of a long pole. They are the absolute property of

nams, or from 8*s.* 2¼*d.* to 21*s.* 10*d.* In CURUMBARA NADA, male Slaves sell at from twenty to sixty old vir-saya fanams, or from 9*s.* 6½*d.* to 28*s.* 8*d.*; WOMEN sell at only ONE HALF of this low price. A male Slave lets at four fanams a year, and a woman at half as much; the persons who have them, providing for their maintenance." *(Buchanan,* vol. ii. p. 406, 407, 495.)

A working Slave, gets daily three tenths of a *poray* of rough rice, or about 36½ bushels a year. He also gets annually one fanam for oil, and 1½ fanam for cloth, which is just sufficient to wrap round his waist. If he be active he gets cloth worth two fanams; and at harvest time from five to six *porays* of rough rice. Old people and children get from one to *two-thirds* of the above allowance, according to the work they can perform. In North MALABAR, the yearly allowance fixed for a Slave is, of rough rice, to able-bodied men, 148½ cubical inches; to able bodied women 103½; to old persons and children 74¾. The average will be 18 4-10ths, bushels of which ONE HALF is husks. In SOONDA, men Slaves receive yearly, an allowance of rice, clothes, and money, equal to £2..8..7½, the women, 8*s.* 1*d.* *(Buchanan,* vol. ii. p. 406, 407, 491, & 243.) The subsistence of the free labourers is even more scanty and miserable. "ATTRACTED BY THE STENCH OF A ROTTEN CARCASE," says the ABBE DU BOIS, "they fly in crowds to dispute the infectious carrion with the dogs, the ravens, and other beasts of prey. THEY SHARE THE MASS OF CORRUPTION AND RETIRE TO THEIR DENS TO DEVOUR IT, WITHOUT rice, seasoning, or any other accompaniment. Little do they care of what the animal may have died, for they make no scruple to poison secretly their neighbour's oxen and cows, to provide a savage repast for their ravenous appetites. To this horrible food MAY BE ATTRIBUTED many of the contagious diseases which prevail constantly in their habitations."

We have noticed the food and labour of Indian Slaves. Let us for a moment consider the manner in which their masters,—"THE PEASANTS OF BENGAL," treat them, and the light in which they view them. "When a man's stock of cows is large," says Buchanan, "they are kept with the labouring cattle, in house built at SOME DISTANCE from the abode of *freemen,* in a place where the Slaves are permitted to dwell, when the crop is NOT on the ground; for these poor creatures are considered as

their DEVARU or lord, they are not attached to the soil, but transferred in any manner their

TOO IMPURE, to be permitted to approach the house of their DEVARU, or lord." *(Buchanan*, vol. iii. p. 380.)

Penant in his view of Hindostan, informs us that at the death of a person of rank. "If he happens to be an Upper Hill person of common rank, THE HEAD of one of his Slaves is cut off and burnt with him. If the Upper Hill person is of high rank, a large body of his Slaves rush from the hills, seize a Hindoo, and cut off his head; and burn it with their chieftain." *(Penant*, vol. ii. p. 369.)

Mills in his History of Hindostan, tells us that "the business of the Sudras, is servile labour, and their degradation is inhuman. Not only is the MOST ABJECT and grovelling submission imposed upon them as a RELIGIOUS DUTY, but they are driven from their just and equal share in the social institution. Even their PERSONS and labour is not free: a man of the servile *caste*, whether bought, or unbought, a Brahmin may compell to perform servile duty; he may seize without hesitation, the goods of his *Sudra* Slave, for as THAT SLAVE CAN HAVE NO PROPERTY; his master may take his goods, nor let him give SPIRITUAL instruction to such a man. He who INSTRUCTS a servile man in the mode of expiating sin, SINKS WITH THAT VERY MAN into the HELL, named *Asamvrita*." *(Mills's British India*, vol. i. p. 167, 168, 169, &c.)

"The *Pariahs*," says ABBE DU BOIS, "are exceedingly addicted to intemperance: the liquor which they most enjoy is the juice of the palm. Their intemperance not only leads to frequent quarrels among them, but leads to the cruel treatment of their wives. In that condition they often fall upon their, Slaves, even when in a state of pregnancy," and to this barbarous treatment, may be attributed the greater liability of the *Pariah* women to abortion, than takes place among the *Castes*.

"If a *Soudah* read the Bedes to either of the other three *Castes*, or listen to them, heated oil, wax, and melted tin, shall be poured into his ears, and the orifice stopped up. If any person steal a man of inferior caste, he shall be fined one thousand *puns* of cowries (about 32*s*.). If a man in time of war, steal a horse, or an elephant, the magistrate shall deprive him of life. If he steal either of these animals, in time of peace, the magistrate shall cut off from him one hand and one foot *."

* Speech, Mr. Robertson, House of Commons, May 22, 1823.

master thinks fit. The value of a male slave is £2..14..7, women from 9*s*. 6*d*. to 28*s*., children from 8*s*. 2½*d*. to 21*s*. 10*d*. each. The value of their annual allowance of food is, to male Slaves, £2..8..7½—females, 8*s*. 1*d*. In fact the Slaves are very severely treated; and their diminutive stature and squalid appearance, shew evidently a want of nourishment. *There can be no comparison between their condition and that of the Slaves in the* West India Colonies. The degradation of the *Sudras* or servile cast, is inhuman—a *Sudra* can have no property, and he who instructs a servile man in the mode of expiating sin, sinks with that very man into the hell named Asamvrita. "The hired labourers are scarcely in a better state, and are subjected to the lash at the pleasure of the master, while they labour almost night and day for 2*d*. for the twenty-four hours." In Canamore and Cherical, the *Panicars* (or hired men) are frequently flogged; and as their masters are not bound to provide for them in old age, or during famine, *they seem to be in a worse condition than the Slaves*. They work from morning till noon, when they are allowed an hour for breakfast; then they work until evening, and *all night* they watch the crop." There is nothing in the West Indies to be compared to this; and after a per-

usal of these undeniable facts, where it is asked is the foundation for that daring assertion made by Mr. Cropper and others, "that the opening of the East India trade, (that is equalizing the duties on Sugar,) is the trial of a great experiment, that of a free competition of the products of the East by FREE MEN, and those of the West by SLAVES;" or where the room for that calumnious fabrication and criminal charge made by Mr. Clarkson in these words; "The East Indian market is open to us, and we prefer Sugar that IS NOT STAINED WITH BLOOD *;" and where it is asked is the room for that presumptuous and false statement put forward, that there are no Slaves in India—when it is notorious to the world, as Mr. Mills justly observes, that "the lower classes in India are SLAVES TO SLAVES!" The bare *ipsi dixit* of Mr. CLARKSON and his coadjutors, the wanton murderers of truth, cannot invalidate notorious facts, nor blot out from the pages of history, the records of ages. The history of India, and the state of the population of India for the last two centuries at least, can be read and can be known without having recourse to fable and misrepresentation; and if the system by which Great Britain has so long been, and yet is, supplied with Su-

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts*," page 56.

gar "stains it with blood," then it is evident that for every such spot or stain that is fixed on West India Sugar, there MUST BE TEN, and these tenfold deeper stains on the Sugar, Rice, and Indigo, produced in the East Indies, whether produced by the labour of freemen or Slaves. Such appeals to passion, shew a complete want of argument, and recoil upon the heads of those who make them. To the reflecting mind they are empty sounds which convey no more truth or meaning than the ridiculous threat held out by Mr. Clarkson in the name of the people of Great Britain, against the West India Colonies, that if they refuse to do what Mr. Clarkson requires, the people of Great Britain and himself—"WE WILL NOT BUY SUGAR AT ALL*." Of this there is no danger. Only let Mr. Cropper or Mr. W. Smith import it, and it will be generally recommended, readily bought, and eagerly swallowed without much inquiry or compunction, where or how produced—"WE" "asking no questions for conscience sake."

It is considered unnecessary to adduce further authorities upon these heads. It has I conceive been satisfactorily shewn, that there are Slaves in India; that the system of Slavery there established is the most grovelling that can

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts*," page 56.

possibly be, and such as is directly contrary to laws enacted under the immediate sanction of Heaven; and further it has been shewn, that the freemen in India are in a much more degraded, and helpless, and miserable condition in point of food, clothing, lodging, knowledge, labour, and religious instruction, than any Slave in the West India Colonies. It has also been shewn, that India does not produce Sugar to supply even the markets of the East, nay of her own, instead of supplying also the market of this country and of civilized Europe. It has been shewn that in price it is greatly *superior*, and in quality it is greatly *inferior* to the Sugar produced in every Foreign Colony; and the very fact that this is the case, is a conclusive proof that the population of India are greatly behind the population of other countries in civilization and knowledge; otherwise, with the same climate, and, as they say, the better soil and exceeding cheap labour, which they possess, they would as easily beat other countries (in point of quality and price,) as the manufacturers of Great Britain by their superior knowledge and intelligence, surpass all the manufacturers of the world in their own markets, with manufactures produced from their own raw materials, manufactured by British capital and ingenuity, and

exported by British enterprize and perseverance.

So strong is the current of the free trade and free labour mania, that it threatens to sweep every thing before it, disregarding facts, and reckless of the results. Mr. Clarkson goes so far as to say that the mere equalizing of the duty on East India Sugar produced by freemen, "would, without striking any further blow, occasion death to the execrable Slave trade in EVERY PART of the world; because these foreigners, who should continue Slavery, no longer able to compete in the markets with those who should employ freemen, must abandon the Slave trade altogether*." Why, what frothy foolery and declamation is this? Yet it is echoed by a hundred pens and ten thousand tongues, in the face of the evidence of their own senses, and of every letter, invoice, and importation, which they receive from every corner of the earth.

Let it be allowed for the sake of argument, that East India Sugar is produced by freemen What then? Is it not a fact notorious to every one, but the most prejudiced or the most ignorant, that the access to the markets of the whole world, either direct, or through Great Britain, is open to the produce of India, and of

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts*," page 56.

every country in the East, where it is raised by the labour of freemen, and this not only for the article of Sugar, but also for Cotton, Indigo, Coffee, &c., &c., and yet the importers of these articles are beat out of every market of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America, by all these articles of a superior quality, raised in European Colonies, and the American States, wholly and entirely by the labour of Slaves. The subjects of these States meet the British merchant in every quarter, and paralyse and destroy all his operations; nor could any equalization of duty on our part, or any measure which we can take, prevent it. Mr. Clarkson may *chuse* to shut *his* eyes to those glaring facts, but he cannot force other people to do so, and woe to this country if ever her statesmen should shut their eyes to facts which he who runs may read, and the clerk who was but yesterday put to a mercantile writing desk, may see and understand in a moment. Surely Mr. Cropper must know that the Sugar, Coffee, and Indigo of Brazils, Cuba, and South America, and the Cotton of the United States, overpower the productions of his *free* Indian labourers, not only in the market of Great Britain, but in every other. Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Cropper, and the Reviewer, must admit that all these productions are raised by the labour of Slaves.

There is no axiom more obvious and self evident than this, namely, that in proportion as we oppress and distress our West India Colonies, we raise in importance, value and resources, the Colonies of other maritime and *rival* powers. The experience of many years has made this fact very obvious, and the now sought equalization of duty on India Sugar, or in other words, the abrogation of the principle of protection to our own capital and agriculture, (for that is the ultimate, the real aim in view) over the capital and agriculture of Foreign powers, will only tend to perpetuate and spread, as it has already tended to perpetuate and spread Slavery and the Slave trade in various countries on earth; and more especially in India, where these abundant and deep rooted plants only want impulse and prospect of gain, to cover all the land with misery more deep, hardships more severe, and "*degradation*" more "*inhuman* than what at present every where prevails."

Truth is become a rare commodity in the labours of speculative writers. Every thing must be done for stage effect and show:—every thing must be done to "bite, strike, and cut"—to "*make the impression strong*," as an Edinburgh periodical critic would pronounce it; no matter

how great the falsehood and daring the lie. "They, the EAST INDIA COMPANY," says Mr. Clarkson, "have been a blessing to the natives with whom they have been concerned. They dispel the clouds of ignorance, superstition, and idolatry, and carry with them civilization and liberty wherever they go *." The climax of human impudence cannot exceed this; and Mr. Clarkson must consider all the population of Britain to be as besotted and enslaved as an Indian Pariah, before he can imagine that any one would give credit, even for a moment, to what he here states. What, let me ask Mr. Clarkson, are "*ignorance, idolatry, and superstition,*" if these do not prevail in India; and what are "civilization and *liberty,*" if these prevail and are taught there. India is governed by commercial interests, to which all political power and rights are subservient, vested in a body of men 20,000 miles distant from her, whose mandates in India none dare question, none dare dispute; and who govern, and must govern, with an arm as firm, and a sceptre as despotic, as was exercised or wielded by Napoleon in the arrogance and the plenitude of his power. In addition to all their other known despotic laws, it was only the other day that a regulation and order was issued, for bidding, under the penalty of banishment from

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts,*" page 57.

Hindostan, every person who might publicly attempt to examine or blame the conduct or proceedings of the Company's Government in any manner whatever *. And will Mr. Clarkson tell us this is liberty, or that liberty dwells, or can dwell, under such despotic dominion.

With regard to the knowledge which prevails in India, where, it is asked of Mr. Clarkson, on the face of the earth amongst any portion of the human race shall we find "idolatry, ignorance and superstition" darker, stronger, and more opposed to the revealed will of Heaven than theirs? How many stocks and stones under the denomination of Deities with hundreds of arms and heads each, do they worship?—They adore the river and the brute—the Ganges and the cow—at their shrines they offer worship and "the glory and the praise" that is due only to Jehovah, they

* By a positive law dated and published at Calcutta, April 5th, 1823, there were prohibited publication of "Observations or statements touching the character, constitution, measures or orders of the Directors, &c connected with the Government of India, or the character, constitution, measures or orders of the Indian Governments—to excite resistance to their orders, or to weaken their authority. DISCUSSIONS HAVING A TENDENCY TO CREATE ALARM OR SUSPICION AMONG THE NATIVE POPULATION, or of any intended official interference with their religious opinions —insulting remarks on their peculiar usages and modes of thinking on religious subjects—publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, &c. &c."—And on 30th March, Sir F. MACNAUGHTON in the supreme court declared "The Government and a free press are incompatible, and cannot stand together. The introduction of liberty into India would be worse than the most odious tyranny."

give "*to graven images.*" They make Slaves of each other—the parent of the child *—brother of brother, the sister is sold for the purpose of prostitution, they expose their infants and their aged to die by the savage beasts of the jungle and the waters of the Ganges—they burn their widows by express laws, and by permission of British magistrates, upon the funeral piles of their husbands; and below the bloody wheels of their god Juggernaut, they crush to death and wade through the blood of the victims—to *crimes.* Mr. Clarkson must know, or he knows little that he should know, that this is "idolatry, ignorance and superstition," against which the severest vengeance was denounced and inflicted by the arm of Omnipotence upon his chosen people. It is besides perfectly notorious that at this moment the most express laws are in operation over all India enacted by the East India Company, protecting, and commanding all their officers to protect the natives in the free exercise of these their customs and religion, and even prohibiting Europeans from interfering or meddling with them to point out their error.

I am not canvassing the conduct of the East

* The author of a work entitled Fifteen Years residence in India, states the class called *Paliars* to be slaves, and informs us that a man offered to sell his own son as a slave, which was according to the LAW AND CUSTOM OF THE COUNTRY. (P. 183.)

India Company, or saying that in what they do they do wrong. I am perfectly aware that India if to be governed by Europeans, can only be governed by the firm arm of oriental despotism, and also that whenever the population of India shall shake off the fetters of that "ignorance, superstition and idolatry," which has ground them to the dust through a long lapse of ages, and rendered them the easy prey of every invader, from that moment they will shake off European chains, and, above all, the fetters imposed upon them by the East India Company. In what I have brought forward, my object is merely to state facts, and with them to meet the daring, but rash and injudicious comparisons, which ignorance, presumption and prejudice, attempt to draw against our West India Colonies; and when Mr. Clarkson or the Critic can shew me either political tyranny, "ignorance, idolatry and superstition" in the West Indies worse than—I will even say equal to, or in any degree resembling the system which in all these things is established, rooted and supported in the East Indies, I may then be induced to notice, or dwell longer upon this part of the subject.

Equally remarkable, and of a piece with the preceding, but taking a more daring flight, is the continued cry, that by tolerating Slavery the nation has committed, is committing, a great

moral crime in the eyes of heaven, and that all our misfortunes arise and proceed from that cause. Is not this the doctrine of Mr. Clarkson, "Take away," says he, "from the planters the USE AND PRACTICE OF SLAVERY, and the hour of their prosperity would be begun. Can we doubt that PROVIDENCE would then bless their endeavours, and that *deliverance* from their difficulties would be their portion in the end!" At leisure, friend Clarkson. If the planters are guilty, this country which supported and encouraged them in their present pursuits is not innocent. If they commit a moral crime by holding Slaves, the power which made it legal in them to do so has committed one far greater. Above one hundred and fifty years have passed away since Great Britain established her present colonial system. Does Mr. Clarkson mean to say that all our national reverses within that period have proceeded from the commission of the crime of buying and holding Slaves? If so, what will he say to that national presumption, which during all that period has so often and so justly offered up to the MOST HIGH the national gratitude, and thanks, and praise, for the great national benefits and blessings she had received and enjoyed; when, if we are to believe Mr. Clarkson's authority, the nation was systematically opposing HIS word and violating HIS law?

CHAPTER V.

Pamphlet of Mr. Clarkson.—Unfounded and grievous Calumnies.—Their Falsehood exposed.—Statement of Clarkson and others, that to hold or to own Slaves constitutes a Crime in the Eyes of Heaven. —Examined and refuted from both the Old and New Testament.—Slaves in our Colonies asserted to have been obtained by Violence, " stolen,*" and consequently Title to them illegal.—The Trade in which they were obtained shewn to have been formerly legal, both by the Laws of this Country and of Africa. —Origin of Slavery.—Laws and Practice of the Jews concerning it.— Prisoners of War sold as Slaves.—Great Extent and long Standing of the trade in Africa.—Europeans found the Trade—did not create it.—Proofs from Report Committee of Privy Council,* 1789, *and from various Authorities, to shew the Legality of the Trade.—Its Prevalence in Africa.— Who are made Slaves there.—Criminals, Debtors, and Prisoners of War.—Cruelty of the African Princes.—Kill or sacrifice the Prisoners they cannot sell.—Mr. Clarkson's false Statements on these Points refuted, &c. &c.*

IN No. 77, the Reviewer returns to his subject of attacking the West India Colonies, and

for this purpose he confines himself almost entirely to extracts from Mr. Clarkson's "*Thoughts,*" a publication among the *best* which the Critic seems to have met with, as exceeding in direct malevolence and reckless declamation, any thing that the Reviewer could of himself produce. On this account I shall, in noticing this publication, and others of a similar nature, pass from the Review, and stick to the originals, particularly as there are some passages in them which are evidently too strong for the Reviewer's nerves, and too bold and daring for even his inventive powers to dwell on.

Of this publication of Mr. Clarkson it may be said, that never before were so many misrepresentations and deviations from truth collected into the bounds of fifty-seven octavo pages. These are harsh words, but they are true, as the extracts my time and limits permit me to notice, will abundantly prove.

Mr. Clarkson cannot expect that his simple affirmation is to supersede all inquiry and all authority, and turn the course of events into such channels as he may chuse. A short example of our author's manner, and our author's consistency and veracity, may at the outset and at once, gave the reader a correct idea of the spi-

rit and the object of the work. In page 48, he says, "a Negro, *if he worked for himself, could do double work.* It is surprising to find how little a West Indian Slave really does, when he works for his master. *He appears to work, without actually working;* he (page 49) does for himself in one day *more* than a third of what he does for his master in *six*—he works more than three times harder when he works for himself, than when he works for his master." Yet with these facts acknowledged, the burden of his work is to shew the cruelty and severity with which they are worked and treated, which in page 53 he sums up thus:—"Slavery indeed has *no compassion*, and it is one of its characteristics *never to think of sparing* the sinews of the wretched creature called a Slave." Surely Mr. Clarkson did not write his book for those who think, or who compare one page with another, or he would never have penned the preceding sentences, and still less the following audacious *falsehood*, more bitter and aggravated than any thing that ever disgraced the British press, amongst the numerous glaring abominations that tarnish and degrade its character:—"*Slaves* must do, and that *instantaneously, whatever* their master orders them to do *whether it be right or wrong.*

His will, and his will alone, is their law. If the *wife of a Slave* were ordered by her master to submit herself *to his lusts*, or her husband were ordered to *steal* for him, neither the one nor the other would dare to disobey his commands. The whip, the shackles, the dungeon," says Mr. Steel, "are at all times in his power, whether to gratify his lust, or display his authority*." This may be the condition of Mr. Clarkson's and Mr. Cropper's *Bondmen*, (there are Slaves who are not known by the name,) but that it is, ever was, or ever can be the state of the British West India Slaves, is false—it is false, I repeat it, and that it is so Mr. Clarkson does, or *might* know.

After this specimen of Mr. Clarkson's hardihood, and of Mr. Clarkson as an authority, the reader will scarcely feel surprise at any thing he may assert, nor pay respect, or give credit to what he may advance on this subject.

There is an assurance and confidence about Mr. Clarkson which astonishes but cannot convince. "There is not," says he, "*one* English law, which gives a man a right to deprive of liberty any of his fellow creatures†." "The

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts*," page 9.

† Ibid, page 12.

West India Colonists," says he, " have no title to their Slaves on the ground of original grants or permissions of Governments, or of Acts of Parliament, or of Charters, or of *English law.* There is not *an individual* who holds *any* of the Slaves by a legal title *." It would be a waste of time and words to argue against such delirious averments as these. The records and daily practice of our courts of justice, from the highest to the lowest of them, which act on British law and should know it, establish the reverse; and really it exceeds any thing ever before ventured upon by any man professing to be a British subject, to tell the British nation that for two hundred years her courts of justice have been acting in direct violation of the laws of the land †.

" I contend," says Mr. Clarkson, " that there can be, *according to the Gospel dispensation, no* such state as West India Slavery ‡." Why West India Slavery more than East India Slavery, or any other Slavery? Is the Slave, if a worshipper of Juggernaut, more legally held than those under Christian masters? But this miserable quibble and subterfuge does not avail

* Clarkson's " *Thoughts,*" pages 10 & 11.

† This point will be more fully considered in the sequel, when it wil be shewn how the laws of England stand as to this point.

‡ Clarkson's " *Thoughts,*" pages 9 & 10.

Mr. Clarkson in this instance. He has not and cannot shew that West India Slavery is worse, or different from that maintained under the Gospel dispensation. In page 8, he informs us that it is by Roman, not English law, that we hold Slaves. There are many of our laws derived from and founded upon the Roman law; and it would not be difficult to shew Mr. Clarkson that those Roman laws, constituting Slaves legal property, formed the guides of courts of justice for generations under the Gospel dispensation.

But as this is an important point, and as if it can be made out that the master has no legal title to his Slave under the Gospel dispensation, *compensation* is not due, and ought not to be expected, far less demanded; (which is the great point Mr. Clarkson and others of his coadjutors are driving at, though they dare not openly say so,) it is necessary to dwell more particularly upon it. This doctrine of Mr. Clarkson's struck even the unrighteousness of the Reviewer dumb, for he has not dared to notice it. As the New Testament and the Old are inseparably connected, it is proper that Mr. Clarkson should consult both, in order to see that a master may hold Slaves, or be entitled to hold them, and be a faithful and sincere worshipper and servant of

his God; two points which Mr. Clarkson and those who think with him deny, and consider to be impossible.*

If, as Mr. Clarkson says, to hold Slaves is contrary to the Gospel dispensation—if, in the words of the Scribe of the London Abolition Society, it is "inhuman, criminal, at DIRECT *variance with the will* of THE SUPREME AUTHOR OF THE UNIVERSE," then, the translators of our Bibles must have imposed upon the world all those passages where it is recorded, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, possessed and held Bond men—Slaves. But more especially they must have falsified the following:—*Lev.* c. 25, v. 24. "Both thy Bond men and thy Bond maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen round about you, of them shall ye buy Bond men and Bond maids." Verse 45. "Moreover of the Children of strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall

* The case of the Roman Centurion (*Matthew*, c. 8, v. 5—13,) is a beautiful illustration of this truth. When he solicited the Divine interference of the Saviour of the world to cure his *Servant*—HIS SLAVE; the *Redeemer* did not meet him by questioning his right to his "*Servant*," nor with upbraiding accusation because he was the master of a Slave. On the contrary he readily performed the cure solicited of him with such faith, and such humility, and not only so, but, addressing the surrounding multitude, HE added the *highest and strongest* testimony to the Centurion's character, in these words, "*Verily, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.*" Mr. Clarkson, and others of our inveterate Colonial enemies, would do well to read and *to remember* this passage of the sacred writings.

ye buy, and of their families which are with you, which they beget in your land, and they shall be your possession, and ye shall take them as *an inheritance for your children after you,* to inherit them for a possession, and they shall be YOUR BOND MEN FOR EVER."

These texts require no comment, and till Mr. CLARKSON and his presumptuous coadjutor can prove that such passages are not in the Bible, that MOSES, the great Jewish law giver, did not act by and under the authority of the ALMIGHTY, and that "*moral*" guilt is in sight of God, different now from what it was then, he must confess and admit, that personal Slavery *is not* "at direct variance with the will of the Supreme Author of the Universe;" and, consequently, that neither individually nor nationally, does the possession of Slaves, constitute in HIS sight, *moral guilt.*

Nor does the case, as it might be allowed to do, rest here. Every one, in the slightest degree acquainted with history, knows that when Christianity was first introduced into the world, half the human race, but more especially in the Roman Empire, then comprehending what was accounted the civilized world, *were Slaves,* and in a state of bondage more severe than that at present existing in any British Colony. This

state of personal Slavery continued for many centuries amongst all the nations that embraced Christianity, in Asia, Africa, and Europe. It yet continues to exist amongst some of them, and was but lately, as in Poland, exercised by the master "without responsibility," the nobles possessing the power to put their Slaves to death without being called to account for it, by any law or power in the state, till Catherine the II. broke to pieces that power on the part of Poland, annexed to Russia; and only since 1815, it has been taken away in the parts annexed to Austria and Prussia. Slavery at this moment exists to a great extent in the United States of America—to a great extent in our Indian Empire, is universal in Africa, and prevails in almost every country and corner of Asia. In all these countries and through every age, a Slave was always accounted and held as legal property; and really it is something strange, if the myriads of mankind that have lived through the roll of 3,000 years, under every creed and under every form of Government, should have been continuing to hold what no law entitled them to hold, till Mr. Clarkson came to open their eyes to truth and justice. In no part of the New Testament is the master's right to his Slave, either questioned or disputed. On

the contrary, the most solemn and reiterated admonitions, nay injunctions are given to obedience and fidelity, as is particularly exemplified in the case of Philemon. Indeed, throughout all his works, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, presses the point upon every Christian, and points out in an impressive manner the duties both of master and servant, or as the latter word used in the original Greek means, Bondman or Slave. In this manner all the Apostles acted and taught—in this manner all the early teachers of Christianity acted and taught, and so through the ages succeeding, their successors have acted and taught. They have ever looked upon Slavery as a civil and political question, and amenable to, and removable solely by laws, the result of circumstances, not religious, but civil.

There is a daring temerity about men like Mr. Clarkson, in their appeals to the Gospel, which is most dangerous and reprehensible. It is perfectly evident that he inculcates and advocates principles different from those taught by the Apostle Paul, that Apostle who of his doctrine says most emphatically, "Do I seek to please men, I should not be the servant of God." (Gals. c. i. v. 10.) The words of the latter, particularly in his Epistle to Timothy, are so strong upon this subject, that they merit our

most serious attention. Let our Colonial agitators and enemies read them, if they can, without trembling at their own rashness and boldness, and their own want of that faith and that spirit, the deficiency of which they so mercilessly impute as a reproach to their neighbours.

Ephes. c. vi. v. 5, 6, 8 and 9.—" Servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart as unto Christ. Not with eye servers as men pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart. Knowing, that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And ye masters do the same things unto them, forbearing threatenings: knowing that your master also is in heaven; neither is there any respect of persons with him."

1*st. Corin.* c. vii. v. 21, 22.—" Art thou called, *being* a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord *being* a servant, is the Lord's free man, likewise also he that is called being free, is Christ's servant."

1*st. Timothy*, v. 1—6.—" Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour; that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefits. Those things teach and exhort. *If any man teach otherwise*, and consent not to wholesome words, *even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, *He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions, and trifles of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself.*"

Colos. c. iii. v. 22, and c. iv. v. 1.—" Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye service, as men pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God.—Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in Heaven."

Titus, c. ii. v. 9, 10, and c. iii. v. 1, 2.—"Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again; not purloining but shewing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. These things speak and exhort and rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee. Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work. To speak evil of no man, to be no brawlers, but gentle, shewing all meekness unto all men."

With all these facts before us, the doctrine of Mr. Clarkson cannot be assented to; but if he or his colleagues, can shew in any part of the writings of the Apostles, one passage that states Slavery, or the possession of Slaves to be "at direct variance with the will of the SUPREME AUTHOR of the Universe"—the AUTHOR OF CHRISTIANITY, and constituting in his sight "MORAL GUILT;" I, for one, shall cheerfully acknowledge my ERROR, and lend my aid "*come what come may*," to wipe out the stain, and that without a moment's delay, from every country within the bounds of the British Empire. No equivocation —no quibbles or delays, like those of Mr. W. Smith or Mr. Clarkson, about *gradual* emancipation, or the sophistry that "immediate emancipation might be an injury, and not a blessing, to the Slaves themselves," or that "a period of *preparation*, which unhappily included delay, to the Slaves themselves" was necessary—no quibbling of this kind, I say, about preparation or delay—we ought not to keep them an hour,

if doing so is "at variance with the will of the Supreme Author of the Universe," and "contrary to the Gospel dispensation"; but then, to satisfy us of that being the case, we must see produced the word of the Author of the Universe, and the command of the Gospel, and not the *ipse dixit* and assertion of Mr. Smith, Mr. Buxton, or Mr. Clarkson, or in fact, of any other person who take their views of the subject.

Oh! but the Slaves in our West India Colonies are a different kind of Slaves, and stand in a different situation to any Slaves that ever were, or are in the world, say our Colonial opponents. "As to those in our Colonies, who are Africans," says Mr. Clarkson, "I never heard of any title to them but by the *right of purchase*. But it may be asked, where did the purchasers get them? It will be answered, they got them from the sellers. And where did the sellers, that is, the original sellers, get them? They got them by fraud and violence. So says *the evidence before the House of Commons**." "The Slaves in our Colonies," says the Champion of the African Institution, "were obtained not by lawful means, or under any colourable pretext, but by the most undisguised rapine,

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts*," page 8. In page 138 see that evidence.

and the most atrocious fraud*." Mr. Buxton re-echoes the same cuckoo song, which is, in every part, contrary to truth. When Mr. Clarkson states, that the evidence before the House of Commons says, the African Slaves in our Colonies were obtained by open, criminal force and violence; he has stated what that evidence will not bear him out in stating, and what every one, acquainted with African affairs, knows to be contrary to the fact.

Before, however, entering more particularly into this part of the subject, it is necessary to notice Mr. Clarkson's preparatory reasoning, who cannot meet any subject fairly, but endeavours, by fallacious declamation, and cases got up for the purpose, to withdraw the judgment from the fact.

"Suppose an English gentleman," says Mr. Clarkson, "to be seized by ruffians on the Banks of the Thames, (and why not a gentleman, when African Princes have been so served?) and hurried away to a land (and Algiers is such a land for instance) where white persons are held as Slaves. Now, this gentleman has not been used to severe labour; (neither has the African in his own country) and being, therefore, unable though he does his best, to please his master, he is roused to further exertion by the whip;" and a great deal more about bad and scanty food, ill treatment and cruelty to his wife and daughters, (though the gentleman had been carried away *alone*) which Mr. Clarkson declares to be, as it is, most atrocious and unjust, and similar to the way in which the Slaves are procured for the West Indies.

Now, Mr. Clarkson must really take the in-

* Address by Abolition Society.

tellects of mankind to be lower than those of Hottentots, if he cannot perceive that they will see the two cases to be widely and totally different. The gentleman carried away from the Banks of the Thames to Algiers, would be carried away into a state of Slavery, contrary to the laws of that country from whence he was carried away. If done by the State of Algiers, or rather by an Algerine, without a public declaration of war, it would become an act of piracy, for which we could demand satisfaction; if done by the Algerines after a declaration of war, then they made the man a Slave in conformity to the laws of war, and the African laws of war, and the laws of war of all nations of antiquity, which those barbarous states yet adhere to, and either he or his nation must submit to pay his ransom or conquer and subdue the Algerines, so as to compel them to bring their rules of war to the rules adopted by christian nations. Hitherto the latter nations have, in general, adopted the previous alternative, till Lord Exmouth directed the British thunder to batter to pieces the barbarous claim. But Mr. Clarkson must allow that the case would be very different, if the Algerines in conformity to their own laws, and at peace with this country, came to it, and on the banks of the Thames, purchased, under the es-

tablished laws of this country—under the authority of the Prince who either sacrificed his subjects by thousands to the *manes* of his ancestors, or sold them as Slaves; the supposed gentlemen, or any other gentleman. This is the true bearing of the case as it regards Africa and the Slaves brought from thence to our West India Colonies. "He who stealeth a man and selleth him, or, *if he be found in his hand,* he (because I presume, the man was the *property* of another,) shall surely be put to death *," says the HIGHEST AUTHORITY, that same authority which stated that the children of strangers might be bought and held as Slaves. Mr. Clarkson indeed endeavours at other times, to shew that all our Slaves were brought from Africa by fraud and violence; and at the time of the first agitation of the abolition question in 1792, he and others, brought forward narratives and affidavits from *revengeful* seamen to establish the fact, but he cannot have forgotten, as the records of the Court of King's Bench will establish that those affidavits were the productions of gross and wilful perjury, tried, convicted, and punished as such.†

* *Exodus*, c. xxi. v. 16.

By Act, Geo. II. cap. 31, sect. 20, a penalty of £100 was incurred by any one convicted "of carrying away the natives of Africa by fraud, force, or indirect practices."

† See trial and conviction of Thomas Dowling for wilful and corrupt

In looking back into the origin of personal Slavery among the nations of antiquity, we perceive that it arose from the rights of war and conquest. The victor universally held it as his right to adopt the alternative of putting to death or enslaving the vanquished. This right was acted upon by the Jews, as we learn from the fate of Agag, hewn to pieces by command of Samuel, then the head of the people of Israel; and by the fate of the Midianites, and also by the fate of the Ammonites, who were cut off by the orders of King David, amidst the most terrific severities; and we learn the exercise of the alternative of the right, by the fate of the conquered Jebusites, who were reduced "to be hewers of wood and drawers of water," that is to a servile state, by Joshua and the other leaders of the Israelites.*

perjury, Court of King's Bench, Feb. 26th, 1793, before Lord Kenyon, in the case of Capt. Kimber, who was accused, tried, and acquitted, of the charges brought against him.

*The practice and laws of the Jews on this head as these are related in the old Testament, are so striking and remarkable, that they deserve our attention; and as we consider these we shall perceive that the rights of Slavery, as established in our Colonies, are, in some important points, similar to those which were established and recognized amongst the Jews.

So severe were their war laws, (Deut. c. xx. v. 14—c. xxi. v. 10, 11) that only the women and the children were saved. The rest were put to death; and, in the war against the Midianites, even the male children, and the women who had known man, were put to death. Numb. c. xxxi. v. 14,

Amongst heathen nations, and amongst the more polished, such as Greece, Persia, and Rome, the consequences of conquest was always

18, 35. That the Slaves taken in war were sold to the highest bidder, is extremely probable; for, in the Midianitish war, the 12,000 men who had made the campaign received 15,968 virgins; and the rest of the Israelites, almost six hundred thousand, 15,680; Eleazar the high priest 32; and the adult Levites, who amounted to more than eight thousand, 320. To divide the spoil, therefore, there must have been an auction or valuation. One class of Slaves (*Gen.* c. xvii. v. 13) were, born in the house, distinguished from those "*bought with silver.*" It appears also, that parents, not fathers only, but in certain cases mother's likewise, had it in their power to sell their children. The debtor, and not merely the person of the debtor, but his wife and children were subjected to be seized and sold as Slaves to pay the creditor. (*Exod.* c. xxii. v. 2. *Nahum.* c. v. v. 4, 5; 2 *Kings*, c. xiv. v. 1. *Isaiah*, c. l. v. 1.) and sometimes the debtor consigned his wife and children to Slavery for his debts, that he himself might go free.

Slaves were acquired by the issue of the marriage of Slaves, or rather of that sort of cohabitation between them which the Latins termed *Contubernia;* for, in the Roman law, that, and not *conjugia*, was the term applied to the marriages of Slaves; and amongst the Hebrews, likewise, we find a remarkable distinction made between their marriages and those of free citizens.

If a free-born Hebrew, who sold himself for a Slave, had previously had a wife, this was in all respects a perfect marriage; and, after his six years of servitude were expired, her freedom was restored along with her husband's, (*Exod.* c. ii, v. 3.) But if, during the continuance of his servitude, his master gave him a female Slave as a companion, this was only a *contubernium*, and differed from a marriage in this essential circumstance, that she still continued in Slavery after he had recovered his freedom in the seventh year, and consequently after the connection had ceased. (*Exod.* c. xxi, v. 4. The children produced from such a *contubernium* were also Slaves; and, a *fortiori*, it is obvious that the children of other servants of foreign descent were born to Slavery. Such Slaves by birth were said to be *born in the house*, (*Gen.* c. xiv. c. xvii. v. 23,) and termed *sons of the house*, (*Gen.* c. xv. v. 3;) or *sons of the handmaid*, (*Exod.* c. xxiii.

personal Slavery. The practices yet continued amongst various Eastern nations, and after the overthrow of the Roman empire, the nations which over-ran it, and from whom the nations of

v. 12; *Psalms*, lxxxvi. v. 16, and cxvi. v. 16.) Abraham had 318 of them, and whom he treated with such confidence as to put arms in their hands.

That a man could sell himself as a Slave is evident from the passages just quoted; for it is expressly stated, that if the free-born Hebrew servant, upon the expiring of the term of his servitude should say that he loved his wife and wished to remain, " his master shall bring him to the judge," and, in his presence, to the door-post, " bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him for ever." (*Exod.* c. xxi. v. 5, 6.)

From these passages, also, it is evident that the children born by a female Slave, were Slaves, though the father was free.

That the Jewish law decidedly recognised Slaves as property, is evident from various passages.—*Exod.* c. xxi. v. 32. Moses fixes the value of a male or female Slave, who might be gored to death by an ox, and which the owner of the latter had to pay, at 30 *shekels*, about 36*s.* of our money. And, in determining the value of the release of Slaves of the sanctuary, Moses values the child less than one month old at nothing—from a month old to the fifth year, the value of a boy was five, and of a girl three *shekels;* from the 5th to the 20th year, a boy was worth 20 and a girl 10 *shekels;* from the age of 20 to 60, males were valued at 50 and females at 30 *shekels*; and above 60, a male at 15 and a female at 10 *shekels*. Upon consideration it will be found that these valuations are formed upon the nicest calculations of mortality, and in reference to the usefulness of a Slave at the respective periods of life.

Slaves might also hold Slaves, as in our Colonies. In 2 *Samuel*, c. ix. v. 10. we find that Ziba, who was a Slave, had 20 Slaves.

The Jews reduced the conquered nations whom they spared, to a state of Slavery. Thus the Gibeonites were made " *hewers of wood and drawers of water*," (*Joshua*, c. ix. v. 27)—they were termed *Nethinims (presented as gifts)*, and in (1 *Kings*, c. ix. v. 20,) we are told: " And all the people that were left of the Amonites, Hittites, Perezites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel, their children that were left after

modern Europe sprang, continued the practice till the middle of the thirteenth century, when by the consent of Europe it was established as the law of nations, that prisoners of war should cease to be reduced to a state of personal Slavery. Other causes however, continued to produce Slavery, such as various crimes, which were punished by that degradation, which extended to the person and to his posterity.

Such were the causes, and such the origin, of personal Slavery amongst the nations of antiquity, and that similar causes yet continue to produce it amongst the much ruder and more barbarous natives of Africa; every one at all acquainted with Africa, or the authors and travellers who have written concerning that country, must know to be the fact, and consequently that the statements put forward by Mr. Clarkson and others, are totally at variance with truth. Slavery and a Slave trade existed in Africa from time immemorial—for *many* centuries before Europeans visited the western coasts. It is the general law and practice in every African state, north of the Hottentot country. It is carried on as a right by all the governments in it,

them in the land, whom the children of Israel also were not able *utterly* to destroy; upon those did Solomon levy a tribute of *bond service* unto this day."

upon precisely the same grounds as by both the barbarous and civilized nations of antiquity, namely, the right of conquest over prisoners taken in war, and that of inflicting punishment for crimes. Some partial and piratical exceptions to this system are no doubt to be found, but these do not invalidate, the general rule; and ninety-nine times out of a hundred, the quarrels among the African Princes and States originate in other causes, (as quarrels originate among other Princes and States,) than the mere desire of procuring Slaves, as is constantly asserted by the abolitionists, and generally believed by those of the public who neither enquire nor think.

I might occupy a very large space with authorities, to prove that the Slaves in our West India Colonies were *not* procured by "fraud and violence"—"*stolen*"—that is in violation of our laws, and the laws of the different African States, but the annexed condensed summary is conceived sufficient for the purpose of refuting the daring assertions and unfounded charges of Mr. Clarkson and his thoughtless coadjutors *.

* SLAVE TRADE.

EVIDENCE COMMITTEE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Part First, evidence *Mr. Peplett.*—Kings, "*break a village,*" that is seize the inhabitants when these are refractory and refuse to pay tribute and if not ransomed, sell such as they seize for Slaves, but never without

Were the assertions of these gentlemen true, they would load the character of their country with crimes so deep, and dreadful, and aggra-

such a cause. *Mr. Thomas Eldrid.*—Negroes regularly tried and condemned, for crimes such as adultery, are then sold for Slaves. *Rev. Mr. Newton.*—Convicts for theft, by law lose their liberty; traded to Africa; several voyages. *Mr. Norris.*—Gold Coast Negroes sold into Slavery, for crimes of witchcraft, &c. Intercourse with Europeans rendered natives more civilized. *Mr. Mills.*—Inland from Gold Coast, inhabitants offer human sacrifices. *Mr. Weares* states same thing. Either Slaves of the person dying sacrificed, or some purchased for that object. *Mr. Norris.*—Dahomey; human sacrifices very frequent; has seen at the gates of the king's palace, two piles of heads like shot in an arsenal; the passages to it are strewed with the heads of those newly put to death; and the roof of the palace decorated with a prodigious number; number sacrificed exceeds 1000 annually. All children belong to the king, &c. When delinquents and captives taken in war, cannot supply sacrifices, any person taken may be pitched upon. Captives taken in war, sold as Slaves or put to death in Dahomey. In kingdom of Eyeo the same. Anniversary funeral of the father or mother of the King of Dahomey, about 60 men or women sacrificed. *Mr. Dalzell* states the same things. *Mr. Penny,* was present at the sacrifice of a young Slave to the manes of the king in the Delta of Benin.

The people practice gross idolatry. Worship idols, lizards, snakes, &c.

Contrary to the fundamental law of the country, that a purchased Slave should obtain his freedom. *Capt. Hale.*—Does not believe any wars are made on the sea-coast for the purpose of making Slaves. In the year 1768, there was a very violent war, and the Slaves made in it were all either sold or massacred, none remained in the country. *Mr. Barnes.*—Crimes not imputed to procure Slaves. According to the established laws justice is strictly administered in Africa. Knows no country where it is more strictly so. He never heard of any who had been kidnapped by black traders. African wars not destructive. Do not much diminish the numbers of the people. Never heard that wars were made for the purpose of procuring Slaves, nor does he believe that such wars are practicable. Wars in Africa spring from the same causes as those carried on in Europe, there are also internal wars between chiefs and their great men. Slaves not purchased below 14 years of age. Made Slaves at that age on charge

vated, that all her boasts of religion, and diffusion of religious knowledge, would not make atonement for them, nor all the laurels she has

of witchcraft, the punishment for which involves the whole family. *Mr. Wadstran.*—Princes of the country chiefly Slave dealers and sellers. All trade is carried on by, and through their permission. At Senegal and Goree, Slaves, principally sold, are women and children. Some expressed no concern about the loss of their liberty, but the greater number do, particularly the women. *Mr. Dalrymple.*—Every person who commits any sort of crime, is sold for a Slave. Crimes that were formerly punished in another way, are now punished in this. The Africans rarely punish with death. Domestic Slavery is common in the country. Some of these are born Slaves, and some become Slaves to the king. *Mr. Poplett.*—A fourth part of the Slaves are delinquents. Two-fourths more are Slaves born and bred in the country; the other fourth part, he believes, are prisoners of war. Slaves made to believe, by African priests, that white people kill and eat them. By this falsehood, they keep those in Africa in better subjection. *Mr. Gandy.*—Never heard of wars, or ravages in the country for the purpose of procuring Slaves; they came from a great distance in the interior. Slaves delinquents, sold for various crimes and debt. Never knew that any were kidnapped; it would be impossible for Europeans to kidnap them. Great number of Slaves born in these countries. Slaves come from very distant countries. Amongst these few women, and fewer children. System of Slavery prevails universally in the interior of Africa. *Capt. Hale.*—Slaves, from interior appeared happy at being bought, and when once on board, expressed great reluctance on being put ashore again. *Mr. Penny.*—Wars carried on by stratagem. Fear, ambition, interest, and resentment, cause these wars, and not begun merely to procure Slaves. The same causes occasioned wars in Africa before Europeans had any communication with that part of Africa. Three fourths of the inhabitants are Slaves in the country. Domestic Slaves never sold but for crimes. The crimes which reduce a man to Slavery, are murder, adultery, witchcraft, theft, and sometimes debt. *Mr. Matthews.*—Wars in Africa would be equally numerous, if Europeans had never visited them; people very vindictive. Two kind of Slaves; house Slaves, and plantation Slaves. The former considered as part of the family, and are educated *; the

* It is curious to find the same *distinction* amongst the Jews. See page 136.

gained for centuries, cover them from the eyes of an indignant world—an offended Deity. If any thing more than another could create surprise in

latter live in towns separate from their masters; and whatever they have is considered the master's property. Practice formerly to put prisoners of war to death, but now sell them to European sin preference. *Rev. Mr. Newton.*—Slaves purchased, two thirds males. *Mr. Falconbridge.*—Women often entice men to commit adultery in order to accuse them afterwards, and get them condemned to Slavery. *Mr. Norris* believes that crimes are very *seldom* falsely imputed to them, in order to bring about their condemnation, and Sale. At that time, 1788, export Slaves from Africa supposed to be 74,000—of which British took 38,000. *Mr. Devaynes.*—Wars in Africa caused by similar causes as wars in Europe; a war between Dahomey and Eyeo when he was there, and which cost 60,000 lives, originated from a dispute about tribute. Slaves are brought from a very great distance in the interior, 800 or 900 miles. *Mr. Mills.*—Many Slaves sacrificed at their "*Customs;*" the chiefs send each one or two, according to their wealth, to be sacrificed at the king's pleasure. "Nine out of ten, rejoice at falling into our hands. They know they are purchased for labour, and by their gestures wish to convince the purchaser that they are fit for it." Possessors of Slaves in Africa, who hold such by succession, cannot sell them but when guilty of a crime, tried and convicted. They may, however, sell such as they have purchased. *Mr. Weuves.*—Slaves being generally sold for crimes, are in reality glad to get away from Africa. Slaves not purchased by Europeans, are set aside for sacrifices. *Mr. Dalzell.*—Slaves do not regret their departure from Africa. Delinquents rejoice at it, because they know if they remained, that their lives are forfeited. Those who cannot be sold would certainly be put death. *Admiral Edwards.*—Slaves on the Gold Coast, are made so on account of their crimes. Adultery one crime. Offended party has a claim to the offenders, and also all their families. Saw the heads of seven of the wives, of a chief of Anamaboe upon a drum, which he had ordered to be cut off for adultery. *Mr. Dalzell* said, impossible for Europeans to kidnap negroes, and never heard that blacks did so. Every one who sells a Slave, pays a duty to the king of Dahomey, whose officces would soon detect any such practice. *Mr. W. James.*—Slaves sold to Europeans often prisoners of war. At Bonny has seen large war canoes come down

Mr. Clarkson's proceedings, it is that, in the face of his own assertions, he should talk of gradual abolition—of moments when that would

with their prisoners, and some heads that had been cut off, were stuck upon poles as trophies of victory," &c. &c. Others state that many are procured by fraud, and force, by the natives, and their princes.

Cause of the difference between the numbers of male and female Slaves arises from being prisoners of war, when in these wars women are taken as wives and men sold into Slavery; and owing to polygamy, which could not exist without Slavery. At that time (1788) males preserved in the West Indies, more able for immediate work in new commenced plantations. The young women kept in Africa by the rich and powerful native chiefs as wives or concubines. The poorest man in Africa keeps one, two, or three wives—hence women more difficult to be procured than men. Traders for the West Indian market declined purchasing above one-third females.

That the Slaves brought from Africa were really bought, is evident from the same Report, Part 4th, App. No. 1, where the export of British goods for the purchase of them (chiefly from Liverpool) was in 1786 £888,738..2..10., and in 1787 £668,255..14..4., while the imports from Africa, for the same years, were in each nearly £117,750. The imports into Liverpool from Africa and the West Indies were £895,778, and exports £823,881.

The only way to civilize Africa, and teach the natives industry, would be to plant European Colonies amongst them.

So far the Official Report—It is supported and confirmed by various other authorities:

"We do not consider," says Abbe Proyart, speaking of Congo, "that the men whom they sell are enemies taken in war, and who, in many cases, they might have a right to put to death." "The number of females," says the African Institution, page 62, ninth Report, "found on board Slave ships, is always much less than that of the males," at once establishing the truth of Proyart's statement, that the Slaves are prisoners taken in war. Witchcraft, the belief in which is general in Africa, is punished by Slavery. In Europe, the offender was burnt alive! "All crimes great or small in Africa," says the Edinburgh Review, vol xvi. p. 445, "are punished by Slavery!" Even the Slave factor, continues the same authority, page 61, is authorized by African law "to *seize and*

be practicable, and for the benefit of the Negroes themselves, as if these were considerations which impartial justice would or could consider in the

sell for debt, his debtor, or the family, or even the townsmen of the debtor, in order so satisfy his demands." Even negroes returned from the coast, says the African Institution, *Special Report*, page 43, and ransomed at Sierra Leone, may, by the African law, be again sold previous to domestication. In his letter to the Duke of Gloucester, Appendix, page 5, *Mr. Macaulay* says, " in Africa, as is *well known*, *there now* exist two species of servitude, the one arising from captivity in war, the other from kidnapping, from debt, from the commission of certain crimes, real or imaginary—criminals are condemned to Slavery." Parents frequently sell their own children from the mere desire of getting money; but more frequently from distress and want during famines. " *Ned Brown*," says the Edinburgh Review, vol. xx. p. 64, " was put on board the Brig Amelia, by *Prince Conzee*, his father, as a Slave. It is the custom of the country, for a man, when in want of money, &c. if he has three or four children, to sell one or more of them, and keep the others. His father sold him and his sister together; his sister is now here *(Sierra Leone)*." Mr. Stewart in his account of Jamaica, page 223, says, " I was eye witness to the scene, where a negro, who had been some years in the country, happening one day to meet an elderly Slave, who had just been purchased from a Slave trader recently arrived, he recognized him as his father, who it seems had sold him to the Europeans. Without explanation or preface, he addressed to him a speech in his own country dialect, which he thus translated to the by-standers—*so you old rogue, dem catch you at last—no—Buckra do good—you no care for your picaninne* (child), but they will make you feel work—pinch too."

Next, we have the testimony of the respected and lamented Mr. Park, who informs us, that in Africa, " *three-fourths*" of the population are in a state of Slavery, and a Slave trade universal, where Europeans are not known. Bowditch, Browne, Burkhardt, &c. &c. all tell us the same tale, and that of districts where there is no communication with Europeans, or connection with them.

That crime and captivity in war is the occasion of African Slavery, and that, otherwise, death is the fate of the vanquished or the criminal, we have the undeniable and incontrovertible testimony of that shrewd, sensible, and excellent man, Governor Ludlam, the Gentleman

restitution of what has been unlawfully and unjustly obtained. The mere fact of *gradual* abolition being admitted, advocated by Mr. Clarkson,

employed by the African Institution as their Governor, when the members held that settlement as a commercial speculation. In his letter to Mr. Macaulay, dated April 14, 1807, and by the latter suppressed till 1815, Governor Ludlam says:—from the abolition of the Slave trade, " I must observe, that the administration of every African Government must become extremely severe if not extremely bloody. When so *effectual* a punishment as Slavery is done away, which yet, as it sheds no blood, is readily executed on petty criminals and in doubtful cases, severe punishments, and more terrible examples, must be introduced. Every ancient institution, the power of every hereditary chief, must now be sustained by blood, instead of Slavery. It is true, that through the Slave trade, the punishment of many small crimes has been *raised* into Slavery; but it is no less true, that the punishment of some *great ones* has been *sunk* into it. When it is no longer worth while to *catch them by surprise*, and hold them as a *pledge of justice*, the injured party must make war; and kill his neighbour's people in revenge, since he cannot sell them for satisfaction."

Governor Ludlam knew Africa too well to be deceived. His predictions are daily verified.

HUMAN SACRIFICES IN AFRICA.

The evidence taken before the Committee of the Privy Council, which went to substantiate the fact that human sacrifices were frequent in Africa, and that Slaves and prisoners of war, when the latter could not be sold, were doomed to that fate, was either ridiculed, disbelieved, or forgotten, by those who are inclined to believe every thing but the truth regarding Africa. Subsequent testimony, however, which cannot be clamoured down as proceeding from men interested in our West India Colonies, and the Slave trade, establish these terrible truths in their most hideous and disgusting realities. Mr. Bowditch, the official agent of the British sovereign to the King of Ashantee, has, in that capacity, told us what he repeatedly witnessed. The palace of the sovereign and houses of his chiefs are *decorated* with piles of human skulls—their war drums are also *adorned* with skulls and thigh-bones of victims secretly and publicly led to immolation amidst the most barbarous cruelties. Such, in a particular

overthrows all his mischievous declamation, declares that he is convinced in his own mind, that the Slaves in our West India Colonies are not and have not been unlawfully and unjustly obtained.

manner, is witnessed at the great "*Yam Custom*," and upon the death or the anniversary of the death of any of the royal family or persons of rank.

"The decease of a person," says Bowditch, "is announced by a discharge of musquetry, proportionate to his rank, or the wealth of his family. In an instant you see a *crowd of Slaves* burst from the house, and run towards the bush, flattering themselves that the hindmost, or those surprised in the house will furnish the human victims for sacrifice if they can but secrete themselves till the *Custom* is over. The body is then handsomely dressed in silk and gold, and laid out on the bed, the richest clothes beside it. One or two Slaves are sacrificed at the door of the house. I shall describe the *Custom* for Quatchie Quofie's mother, which we witnessed August the 2d. It was by no means a great one, but it will give a most correct idea of these splendid, but barbarous ceremonies.

The king, Quatchie Quofie, and Odumata, each sacrificed a young girl, directly after the deceased had breathed her last, that she might not want for an attendant until the greater sacrifice was made. Contributions of rum, cloth, gold, and powder, were received from friends to expend at the custom. We walked to Assafoo about twelve o'clock; the vultures were hovering round two headless trunks scarcely cold. Several troops of women, from fifty to a hundred in each, were dancing by movements resembling *skaiting*, lauding and bewailing the deceased in the most dismal, yet not discordant strains. The faces, arms, and breasts of these women were profusely daubed with red earth, in horrid emulation of *those* who had succeeded in besmearing themselves with the blood of the victims. Now and then a victim was hurried by, generally dragged or run along at full speed; the uncouth dress, and the exulting countenances of those who surrounded him, likening them to as many fiends. I observed apathy more frequently than despair or emotion in the looks of the victims. "The King, chiefs, and the multitude with horns and fire-arms assembled. Quatchie Quofie *hurried* by, plunging from side to side like a Bachanal. The victims, with large knives driven through their cheeks,

The object of the enemies of the Colonies in making these assertions and mis-statements cannot be mistaken. They calculate that these,

eyed him with indifference, he them with a savage joy, bordering on phrenzy: insults were aggravated on the one, flattery lavished on the other."

"We followed to the market-place. *Thirteen* victims, surrounded by their executioners, whose shaggy black caps and vests gave them the appearance of bears rather than men, were pressed together by the crowd to the left of the King.. The troops of women, before described, paraded without the circle vociferating the 'dirge.' Discharges of musquetry, bellowing, drinking palm wine, commence the ceremony. 'An old hag,' described as the head fetish woman of the family, screamed and plunged about in the midst of the *fire* of the musquetry, as if in the greatest agonies. The principal females of the family, many of them very handsome, and of elegant figures, came forward to dance; dressed generally in yellow silk, with a silver knife hung by a chain round their necks. The drums announced the sacrifice of the victims. The executioners wrangled and struggled for the office, and the indifference with which the first poor creature looked on, in the torture he was from the knife passed through his cheeks, was remarkable: the nearest executioner snatched the sword from the others; the right hand of the victim was then lopped off; he was thrown down, and his head was sawn rather than cut off; it was cruelly prolonged, I will not say wilfully. Twelve more were dragged forward, but we forced our way through the crowd, and returned to our quarters. Other sacrifices, principally female, were made in the bush where the body was burned. It is usual to '*wet the grave*' with the blood of a freeman of respectability. All the retainers of the family being present, and the heads of all the victims deposited in the bottom of the grave, several are unsuspectingly called on in a hurry to assist in placing the coffin or basket, and, just as it rests on the heads or skulls, a slave from behind stuns one of these freemen by a violent blow, followed by a deep gash in the back part of the neck, and he is rolled in on the top of the body, and the grave instantly filled up. A sort of carnival, varied by firing, drinking, singing, and dancing, was kept up in Assafoo for several days. But for the approaching war and the necessary economy of powder, there would have been EIGHT great

while they pave the way to emancipation without compensation, will irritate and mislead the people of this country so far as to induce them

customs instead of one for this woman; one weekly, the king himself firing the last."

"On the death of a king, all the *customs* which had been made for the subjects who have died during his reign, must be simultaneously repeated by the families (*the human sacrifices* as well as the carousal) to amplify that for the monarch, which is also solemnized, independently, but at the same time in every *excess* of extravagance and barbarity. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their musquets, and fire promiscuously amongst the crowd; even a man of rank, if they meet him, is their victim; nor is their murder of him or any other, on such an occasion, visited or prevented; the scene can scarcely be imagined. I was assured by several that the *custom* for *Sai Quamina* was repeated weekly for three months, and that two hundred and fifty Slaves were sacrificed, and 25 barrels of powder fired each time. But the *custom* for the king's mother, the regent of the kingdom during the invasion of the Fantees, is the most remarkable and bloody. The king of himself *devoted* 3000 victims (upwards of 2000 of whom were Fantee prisoners), and 25 barrels of powder. Dwakin, Kokofoo, Beequa, Soota, and Marmpong, furnished 100 victims, and 20 barrels of powder *each*, and *most* of the smaller towns 10 victims, and two barrels of powder *each*."

"About a hundred persons, chiefly culprits reserved, are generally sacrificed in different quarters of the town at the *yam custom*. Several Slaves were also sacrificed at Bantuma, over the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matter within (fresh and putrified), to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All the chiefs kill several Slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill Slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed and place it on the hole *."

Such are the African chiefs—such the state of "our African brethren"

* *Bowditch*, p. 279, 282, 289.

to take the regulation of the internal affairs of the Colonies into their own hands, and adopt the ulterior measures which the opponents of the Colonies have in view, and which, if adopted, will seal the destruction of our Colonial interest in the WEST, and assist those projectors in the speculation in which they are inclined to vest their property, whether in the EAST or in any other quarter.

With the usual liberality of the Colonial adversaries, who are compelled to have recourse to declamatory accusation for want of facts, I

free from European interference, incitement, or controul—such the horrid scenes and rivers of blood which daily flow in Africa! Yet Ashantee is not a country inhabited by savages, but by a people who are possessed of several of the improvements of civilized life, and since we find them so ignorant and ferocious, what must the mere savages inhabiting other parts of Africa be?

Capt. KNIGHT of H. M. S. *Snapper*, in his despatch to Mr. CROKER, dated August 5, 1821, in old Calabar River (Par. Papers No. 223, p. 12, Session 1823,) thus writes:—" I am very sorry to inform you, Sir, that the most horrible practice of HUMAN SACRIFICE (Slaves) is carried on here to AN EXTENT that I could not have believed MANKIND IN ANY STATE to have been capable of, much less people, who, in all other respects, have arrived at an ASTONISHING DEGREE OF CIVILIZATION, and have left all other Africans that I have seen, very far behind them. To my expostulations with Duke Ephraim, upon the subject, he answered, that AS WE HINDER the sale of their Slaves, *they take such means to rid themselves of them*. This barbarous custom is performed with singular ferocity, being accompanied WITH DANCING, MUSIC, AND SHOUTS OF JOY; while the HEADS of the victims are tossed about in all directions. A few days ago there were TWELVE beheaded on the beach, in sight of ALL the crews of the shipping." Surely the African Institution will not deny these authorities.

shall, no doubt, because I have adduced all these facts, be set down as the advocate of Slavery and the Slave trade. My object and views are very different. I have stated these facts and referred to them, and been called upon to state and refer to them, in order to refute and repel the foul but unfounded charge, and calumnious assertion, that the Slaves in our Colonies were "*stolen*,"—obtained by "*the most atrocious fraud and violence.*" And having done this, I have shown that the masters of them, on every principle of law and justice, have a legal claim and right to them, and that when the nation changes her laws and takes them away, she cannot do so without full and complete compensation.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Clarkson's and the Reviewer's statements of the success of free labour by emancipated Slaves examined and refuted—has every where failed.—In Sierra Leone.—Miserable state of that place—trade thereof—deceptions practised upon this country regarding it.—A great burden to us—yields no returns.—American negroes set free in TRINIDAD—*interesting and important account—their character—work little—great expense of their labour—cannot be depended upon in any way—cultivation of Sugar cannot be carried on with them.*—TORTOLA *Negroes set free by Mr. Nottingham, and the apprenticed Africans.—Gross mis-statements put forward regarding them by Mr. Clarkson and the African Institution.—Cultivate no produce for exportation—A striking instance of the fallacy of the arguments of the Emancipation Society exhibited in the state of these very people, &c.*

MR. Clarkson having to his own satisfaction, settled the point that the Colonial proprietors have no legal title to their Slaves, and consequently that they should receive no compensation for them when taken away, proceeds to dwell upon the safety of emancipating the Negroes,

and the superior cheapness of free labour. To establish this point, he adduces several instances *in his own way*. It is impossible to follow Mr. Clarkson in every line, but I shall bring his statements into as narrow a compass as possible, and do so without misrepresenting or mistating them. In every instance that he has adduced, the fact will be found to be the reverse of what he states.

The first instance of emancipated negroes having answered the expectations of their friends, which Mr. Clarkson adduces, is the case of the Nova Scotian blacks, or rather the blacks which were enlisted into our service, in our revolted provinces, during the American war. These "two thousand and upwards in number, comprehending men, women, and children," were, says he, after having settled in Nova Scotia, a very improper climate, ultimately "conveyed to Sierra Leone. There they REALIZED the object in view; and they are to be found there, they or their descendants, most of them independent, and some of them in affluent circumstances, at the present day *."

It is very difficult to know exactly what object the African Institution had in view, in settling these blacks at Sierra Leone, and therefore we cannot judge correctly of its *realization*. Mr.

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts*."

Clarkson is, I believe, a member of the African Institution; he reads its reports, he sanctions and approves of them. These tell us a different tale about these Nova Scotian blacks, whether a true one or not, it is Mr. Clarkson's business, not mine, to ascertain. In the first place, the Nova Scotia blacks composed, it may be said, the population of Sierra Leone. Fourteen hundred at the second settlement, says Mr. Clarkson, were placed there; and the Special Report, page 19, informs us, that till 1801, the population of the colony never exceeded from 1200 to 2000 persons. The ninth Report, page 53, tells us that the first settlers "were indisposed to agricultural labour"—"indisposed to the drudgery of cutting wood and *planting farms*, preferring *other* modes of employment, particularly trading among the natives." The Special Report of 1815, however, comes a little more to the point. *First*, as to the character of these people. "When the nature of the population of that Colony is considered, composed as it is of Nova Scotia blacks, who, in early life were habituated to all the licence which is incident to a state of Slavery; of Maroons" (Maroons were not Slaves) "who in Jamaica lived in the practice of polygamy, and of the other vices which disfigure the face of society in our West

India Islands; and of native Africans, as yet unacquainted with the obligations of christianity, or the restraints of civilized life."—the Directors were what?—why "not surprised at the disordered state of the Colony, &c." In page 19 it is stated, That "many of the settlers quitted the Colony and fixed themselves in Slave factories"—page 20—that "they *abandoned* cultivation—became *again dependent* upon the Company for their subsistence, and not a few migrated to Slave factories"—in page 61 it is repeated—"many of the settlers *became Slave traders*"—in page 59 we are told of "the unfavourable character of the settlers during the first eight years"—in page 60 of "*the turbulence of the settlers*"—and in page 10, previous to the year 1800, that "the Colonists *contributed nothing* towards defraying the expenses of the Colony"—in page 118 we are told that "many of them abandoned the Colony and left the farms to desolation"—in page 19 it is stated that "in the year 1800 an effort of some of the Colonists to possess themselves of the supreme power ended in *an insurrection*"—and finally, and to clench the whole, the ninth Report, page 52, says "on a *late census*, the European, Nova Scotian, and Maroon men in the Colony, amounted to between three and four hundred,

(ONLY) not more than *one third* of whom are able to support themselves without the necessity of resorting to some manual employment"—and at page 57 that the captured Negroes neither committed so many crimes, nor were punished so often, as an equal number of other classes of the community".

Here is a fine prospect from their own pens of " the realization of the object in view "—of affluence and independence, the lamentable prospect of a body of 2500 persons (men chiefly) being in the short space of twenty years reduced to less than 400 ! in this land of peace, freedom, and happiness. Within that time, had their freedom produced the effects, so much boasted of, they ought to have doubled their numbers. Will Mr. Clarkson, I ask, deny or dispute the authority here adduced ?

By their own reports it is admitted, that numbers of these liberated negroes left the Colony. The reason is not stated. Dr. Thorpe states, and offered to prove if permitted, that this was owing to barbarous treatment. They were ill fed, ill clothed, and most cruelly and unmercifully punished, by flogging. Young girls were let out for the purpose of prostitution. The marriages instituted amongst them were a mere mockery; " wives were changed at plea-

sure", and a "promiscuous depopulating intercourse" was carried on between the sexes, without censure, hindrance, or reproach.

But it may be said matters have been subsequently mended. Perhaps they have been so. The public have little means of judging of the transactions at Sierra Leone, which are carefully kept from public investigation. But that the civilization and usefulness of the natives are increased, does not at all appear from reference to the trade of the place, as compared with that of other parts of Africa. The reverse is indeed the case. The Colony, it would appear, raises no exportable produce; and notwithstanding all the advantages lavished upon it, Sir George Collier informs us, in his official Report, 1822, that in 1821, "the streets of Freetown are as much overrun with grass and indigo *as formerly* *:" yet not even that indigo spontaneously produced is manufactured and exported!

Mr. Clarkson, page 17, would fain persuade us that Sierra Leone is now a paradise. The population is 14,000. It should have been treble that amount from the number of persons transported into it. "The people there are now fallen into the habits

* Dispatch, 27th December, 1821.—Parliamentary Paper, page 15, No. 223, of Session 1822.

of civilized society. Their lands shew the marks of industrious cultivation. Many of them, after having supplied their wants for the year, employ a surplus produce in the purchase of superfluities as comforts". Well, this "*surplus*" produce, "the fruits of industrious cultivation", must be sold to some persons. It would have been but fair and candid in Mr. Clarkson, to have told us what that produce was, and to what part of the world it is exported. Certainly it is not imported into Great Britain in any such quantity as to shew this industrious cultivation, or rather not in a quantity to shew any cultivation at all. Liverpool and London are the great ports for the trade with Western Africa. The imports from thence speak for themselves. These are evidence which cannot be contradicted. The imports for last year are subjoined*, and shew us that while

* Articles imported at Liverpool and London from Western Africa, from the 1st January, 1823, viz :—

From Sierra Leone.

July 14th. *Triton*, with 331 logs teak wood, and about 30 tons camwood.

July 25th. *Lady Combermere*, with 122 casks palm oil, 248 elephant's teeth, 3 tons gum copal, 5 puns. 26 casks and barrels bees wax.

Oct. 6th. *Elizabeth*, with 412 pieces teak wood, and about 9½ tons camwood.

Britannia, ditto, 4½ tons camwood, 382 logs teak wood, 20 logs center wood, *and a steam engine and rice mill returned.*

From other parts of Western coast.

March 24th. *Transit*, with 641 casks palm oil, 2,830 elephant's teeth, 15 tons red wood loose, 2,500 lbs. gum copal.

July 7th. *Mary*, with 825 casks palm oil, 1,752 elephant's teeth, 35 seamorse teeth, 58 bags guinea pepper, 3 boxes gold and silver, 15 tons vane wood, and 1 case and 3 casks gum copal.

July 7th. *Margaret*, with 159 casks palm oil.

August 25th. *Fame*, with 186 casks palm oil, 3 puncheons and 4 barrels bees wax, loose about 20

various articles the produce of the industry of the natives, come from other parts of the coast, not any thing deserving that name comes from

Imports to London from Sierra Leone for the same period.

Feb. 7th. Sierra Leone, *Bedford*, 70 logs teak timber, 1 cask scrivelloes, 64 pieces bees wax, 78 elephant's teeth, 3 casks, 6 bags gum copal, 122 hides, and 10 tons camwood.

April 25th. *Harriet*, 62 casks palm oil, 349 elephant's teeth, 6 sea horse ditto, a pipe Madeira wine, 2 jars guinea pepper (part from coast included.)

July 11th. *Caroline*, *Betsey and Ann*, *Juliana*, 302 logs timber, 2,764 billets, 41 tons camwood, 1 box bees wax, 74 bags 8 casks rice, 16 casks 1 box gum copal, 303 logs 20 ends teak timber.

July 18th. *Eleanor*, 62 logs African timber, 271 billets camwood.

July 25th. *Joseph*, 20 casks oil, 23 seamorse teeth, 72 ivory teeth, 733 elephant's teeth and scrivelloes, 3 packages bees wax, 2 casks skins or hides, 2 casks Mallagette pepper, 1 bag tortoise shell, 102 hides, and 1 cask scrivelloes.

Sept. 12th. *Harriett*, 220 logs teak timber, 15 tons and 1,637 billets camwood, 201 hides, 67 bags 5 tons rough rice.

Hope, 5,800 cow and calf skins, 7 leopard skins, 180 cakes wax, 5 bags gum, 18 casks palm oil, 417 pieces ivory, 6 tons camwood.

Glory, 296 logs 18 packages teak timber, 2,097 billets camwood, 11 casks gum.

Oct. 3d. *Ranger*, 11 casks guinea grains, 21 casks 2 casks bark, 30 legers, 19 pipes 28 puncheons 4 casks palm oil, and 428 elephant's teeth.

Elizabeth, 54 casks palm oil, 909 billets camwood, 126 bags chillocs, a quantity guinea grains, cwt. do., 436 elephant's teeth, and 5 tons fire wood.

Sept. 1st. *Neptune*, with 1,144 casks palm oil, 7 elephant's teeth, and about 20 tons dunnage wood.

Aries, with 249 casks palm oil, 31 casks 14½ barrels gum copal, 1,334 elephant's teeth, 4 barrels and 1½ barrels pepper, 1½ barrels bees wax, 32 seamorse teeth loose, about 15 cwts. gum copal.

Sept. 8th. *William Rathbone*, with 1,090 casks palm oil, 74 elephant's teeth, 6 puns. gum copal, 1 box bird's skins, 20 tons dunnage wood, and 1 hogshead wine.

Sept. 15th. *Morning Star*, with 158 casks palm oil, 4 puncheons 1 hogshead 5 barrels 37 bags COFFEE, and 563 elephant's teeth.

James, with 615 casks palm oil, 361 elephant's teeth, two boxes specie, and 15 tons fire wood.

Oct. 6th. *Hope*, with 27 logs teak wood, 134 elephant's teeth, 2 casks gum copal, about 11 tons camwood, 81 casks palm oil, 31 casks bees wax, 6,825 ox hides, 300 pieces hides, and 300 calf skins.

Heywood, with 969 casks palm oil, 15 elephant's teeth, 52 bags guinea pepper, 4 tons old copper, and some returned goods.

Oct. 13th. ———— with 157 casks bees wax, 60 bags gum senegal, 395 elephant's teeth, 6296 hides, 1 box dollars, 1 bag gold, goods returned (Gambia).

Oct. 20th. ———— with 966 casks palm oil, 10 elephant's teeth, 10 tons dunnage wood, 14 pieces East India goods returned.

AT LONDON.

Feb. 7th. *Samuel and Sarah*, with 333 puncheons, 7 pipes, 46 hogsheads, 2 barrels 1 quarter cask palm oil, 1 box seamorse

Sierra Leone. The small quantity of palm oil and elephant's teeth are procured from other parts of the coast in a coasting trade, from states where

4 elephant's teeth, 2 packages scrivilloes, 1 box seamorse teeth.

Indian Traveller, 255 logs teak timber, 1 cask coffee, 2 casks wax, 3 casks elephant's teeth, 1 ditto chilloes, 1 cask honey, 1 cask ivory, 6 casks gum copal, 2 casks old copper, 2 bags arrow root, 211 hides, 15 tons and 19 cwt camwood.

teeth, 20 boxes, 1 parcel gold dust, 135 teeth, 3 casks, 1,630 scrivilloes, 50 ditto and scraggs, 196 teeth ivory.

Feb. 14th. Accra, *Adonis*, 280 elephant's teeth, 9 seamorse teeth, 93 puncheons palm oil, 335 scrivilloes.

March 21st, Isles des Los, *Hope*, 14 logs timber, 52 casks palm oil, 76 casks bees wax, 419 pieces ivory, 2,815 ox and cow hides, 59 sea morse teeth, 1 cask pepper and ginger, 1 box gum copal, 9 tons camwood, 26 bundles old rope, 8 leopard skins.

At London from other parts Western Coast.

April 4th. *Sarah*, 987 cakes bees wax, 9,345 hides and pieces, 4 boxes bird skins, 1 box ostrich feathers, 268 elephant's teeth and scrivilloes, 18 boxes gum copal.

April 11th. *Zeno*, 12,024 hides, 550 bullock horns, 172 pieces ivory, 862 cakes wax, and 7 elephant's teeth.

July 4th. St. Mary's, *James*, 1,050 cakes bees wax, 129 pieces ivory, 33 pieces timber, 18,512 hides and pieces, 41 leopard skins, 480 pieces camwood, 76 logs timber, 1 bundle timber.

July 18th. Accra, *Fairy Queen*, 138 elephant's teeth, 110 pieces ebony, 20 puns. 44 hodgsheads oil, 6 puncheons, 8 hogsheads, 1 bag bees wax.

Thomas, 392 sacks, 8 casks gum, 66 seroons almonds, and 1 case ostrich feathers.

July 25th. Accra, *Sylvia*, 146 casks palm oil, 1 seamorse teeth, 1,290 elephant's teeth, 1 bag cotton, 6 casks guinea grains.

Accra and C. Coast, *Caledonia*, 163 casks oil, 9 seamorse teeth, 758 elephant's teeth, and scrivelloes.

August 1st. C. Coast C. and Elmina, *Woodburne*, 93 casks palm oil, 224 elephant's teeth, 430 scrivelloes, 1 seamorse teeth, and 3 casks pepper.

August 29th. St. Mary's, *Trafalgar*, 5,580 whole and pieces hides, 215 elephant's teeth and pieces, 2 bags gum copal, a parcel camwood, 412 cakes bees wax.

Sept. 12th. Cape de Verde, *John Echlin*, 360 bags orchella, 105 hogsheads ox hides, 720 goat skins, 1 box shells, 1 box raisins.

George and James, 988 cakes bees wax, 8,323 hides and pieces, 8 leopard skins, 17 elephant's teeth and pieces, 25 logs wood, 337 billets camwood.

Oct. 3rd. *Hambletonian*, 80 tons gum senegal, 1 trunk bird skins, 1 leopard and 1 deer skin, 1 parcel feathers, and 1 box plants.

there are Slaves. Teak wood is not the produce of the labour of the population. The particulars stated in these imports, have only to be noticed to shew the indolence and ignorance of the Colonists at Sierra Leone, and that "the industrious cultivation" boasted of by Mr. Clarkson, exists only in his own brain. With the exception of 8 casks, 141 bags, 5 tons *rough Rice*, and *one* cask Coffee, there is nothing that can be set down as the produce of that Colony, even if the Rice was raised in it, which is very doubtful. The other articles are chiefly produced in places, more or less distant from the Colony, except teak wood, and are brought to Sierra Leone in coasters, and from the districts inland, in exchange for the very trifling articles of merchandise sent out from the capital, *Freetown*. Mr. Clarkson will not surely tell us that teak wood is the produce of the industry of Sierra Leone. Fortunately for its present race of inhabitants, it was planted there before their day.

Such is the situation of Sierra Leone, made the capital of Western Africa, cultivated by free labourers, supported, first by the unlimited sup-

St. Marys, *Sarah*, 1,532 cakes bees wax, 197 elephant's teeth and pieces, 7,670 hides and pieces, 940 billets camwood, 13 logs timber, 2 casks honey, 2 cases bird skins.

Oct. 10th. Cape de Verde, *Alpha*, 1,630 bags orchella.

Dec. 16th. *Kitty*, 128 casks palm oil, 42 elephant's teeth, 202 scrivelloes, 2,002 pieces camwood.

plies of a great monied company, and afterwards by the unlimited aid of the British Government. Yet after thirty-two years of Colonization, and an addition to its population from all quarters, we find scarcely any produce exported from it, and all the cargoes of vessels, in comparison with those from other parts of the African coast, scanty, and of little value, and no increase of population, but in fact a *diminution* to 14,000. There were no West India Slave masters there to disturb their tranquillity and prosperity, and either free negroes are not that industrious race which we are taught to believe, or there is something most grievously wrong in all that concerns the government of the Colony. What hinders it from producing Colonial produce? The market of the world is open to it for every article. The geographical position indeed, is the very worst that could possibly have been chosen for commanding and concentrating the trade of Africa. Still there must be something greatly deficient in the industry and knowledge of its present population. Amongst these are to be included Mr. Clarkson's "*third Case*" of emancipated negroes, viz. the discharged soldiers of the West India Regiments, "*many hundreds of whom were* set at liberty at once," and fixed

in Sierra Leone *. Of these, it is sufficient for my subject to observe, that they form part of that population whose unproductive labours have just been considered, and who, when their influence shall have extended in the Colony, and their as-

* It would have been satisfactory, had Mr. Clarkson stated the exact number of persons introduced into, and liberated in, Sierra Leone. In 1787 there were 400; and next in 1792, first 1,400 Nova Scotian blacks, and subsequently 512 Maroons from Jamaica. The number which left Jamaica, April 16th 1816, was 159 men, 152 women, and 152 children, and 43 men runaways, and 6 women, total 512. From the 9th Report, page 52, we find that 1,500 captured negroes were introduced, under the government of Captain Columbine, in 1810. The Special Report, 1815, p. 111 and 112, enumerates nine towns inhabited (exclusive of the capital) by captured negroes; in the last enumerated of which, *Hogbrook*, there were "upwards of 600 inhabitants." Yet the same Report, p. 63 states, that the total number of captured negroes received into Sierra Leone, till the 9th July, 1814, was only 5,925, 1,968 of whom had entered into the army or navy.

In this dilemma and state of darkness, regarding the state and nature of the population of Sierra Leone, the Missionary Register, of December, 1822, comes to our relief with a ray of brilliant light, and shews us the great advantages of the Sierra Leone "marriage tie," in augmenting African population.

Population, Sierra Leone.

	July 8th 1820.	Jan. 1st 1823.
Europeans	120	128
Maroons	594	601
Nova Scotians	730	722
West Indians and Americans	—	85
Natives	1,046	3,526
Liberated Africans	8,076	7,969
Disbanded soldiers	1,216	1,103
Kroomen	727	947
Total	12,500	15,081

N.B. 11,000 liberated Africans in Colony on the 1st August, 1821.

cendency from "their knowledge of the use of arms" have become more formidable, may do what their predecessors, the Nova Scotian blacks did, namely, "attempt to possess themselves of the supreme power*." The quiet submission of the liberated negroes has yet to be put to the test—I repeat it, yet to be put to the test. Assembled as they are, rude and ignorant savages, from every nation of Africa, dissimilar in their manners, each unacquainted with the language of the other, and without any means of removing speedily that obstruction to communication, some time must elapse before they can act together, form any

* The Bahama official Report gives a deplorable account of the conduct of some of these disbanded soldiers. "The disbanded soldiers that have occasionally found their way to these islands, have uniformly been the VERIEST VAGRANTS IN EXISTENCE. Of the last two that found the means of living here for any length of time, one was hanged about eighteen months ago for burglary, and the other saved his neck only by turning king's evidence against his companion." (*Report*, page 18.)

The number however, even had there been no natural increase, should have stood thus:—

Nova Scotians	2,000
Maroons	530
Disbanded soldiers	1,216
Kroomen, say	800
Natives	3,526
West Indians and N. Americans	85
	8,157
Europeans	128
Liberated Africans, say only	30,000
Total	38,285

thing like a combined plan, or express any thing like their general opinion. But let these impediments once be removed, and I will hazard a prediction, that if Great Britain keeps Sierra Leone in future as a Colony, she must keep it with a vastly increased military force and at the point of the bayonet.

Mr. Clarkson takes as a "SECOND CASE" the negroes carried off from the United States last war, liberated and placed in Trinidad, as free labourers. "The Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford resisted the prejudices of the planters," who maintained that these negroes "would never work for hire," but "support themselves by plunder. The result," says Mr. Clarkson, "has shewn the discernment of the Governor. These very men, formerly Slaves in the Southern States of America, and afterwards emancipated in a body in Trinidad, are now earning their own livelihood, and WITH SO MUCH INDUSTRY AND GOOD CONDUCT, that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away*."

On what authority Mr. Clarkson states this I know not, and he has not told us, and it would perhaps be imprudent in him to disclose. These Slaves so unjustly and impoliticly carried away, were claimed by the American Government, and by the decision of the Emperor of Russia, to whom the matter was referred, their value was very lately paid by this country. These people were placed under the care of a superintendant with a very high salary, it is said of 30*s.* per day, and who at the same time employed several of them, while supported by this country, in clearing and cultivating an estate of his own,

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts*," page 16.

from the produce of which, I have heard that he has sent home to this country presents of Sugar, to shew *how cheap* it could be raised by free labour. At the same time, so much trouble had he with these negroes, that, if I am not misinformed from the authority of those who ought to know, he has again and again publicly declared, that if he had Slaves of his own sufficient to cultivate his estate, he would employ none of them.

But to come a little closer to the point and to shew " the industry and good conduct" of these liberated American negroes, I had, and that only a few weeks ago, an opportunity of learning something of these people and their conduct from an old friend, the proprietor of an estate situated in the midst of them, and who has sometimes had occasion to employ them because he could not do better. His account, which I believe is the correct one, (and the proceedings of the council at Trinidad will confirm it) differs very widely indeed from that put forward by Mr. Clarkson.

" When hired to work, they generally appear upon Tuesday. The afternoon is occupied in supplying them with provisions; and as they work for pay, half in money, half in provisions, in order to save themselves trouble, any estate employing them, is reduced to the necessity of supplying and keeping up a huxter's shop. On Wednesday morning they commence work, and continue till Friday afternoon, when they leave off, depart, and are seen no more at work, till the following Wednesday morning. The provisions they obtain on Tuesday, serve till the following Friday afternoon, when they obtain a fresh supply of fish, beef,

flour, pork, as may be, and also of rum. Though engaged *by piece work*, there is no dependence upon them, and there being no check, they leave the employer when, and as they please; which in crop time, when a great quantity of canes may be cut, and which soon spoil, occasions great loss to the helpless agriculturist, as he cannot replace the labourer so absenting himself, as may be done in this country.

The number of these people was originally 500. They dwell in small villages adjacent to each other, in the southern part of the island. In some of these villages there are small chapels, where black preachers occasionally perform service on Sundays to very thin congregations; but there are no white established clergy. As they are free and independent, they disperse themselves about the country, wherever they please, particularly on Sunday, and no one pays any attention to them with regard to education, or instruction. They are their own masters, and in those respects do as they please. Their general character is very bad. They do not attend church regularly, but rather loiter about their own houses, or wander about the country. They are dissipated and drunken, and in no way to be depended upon, nor does my friend think any reliance could be placed upon them, in case of actual revolt in the Colony. They often run in debt, by getting advances, and then leave their creditors without payment. Their houses are generally inferior in neatness and comfort, within and without, to those belonging to the negroe Slaves. They are also in general worse clothed than the latter, by whom they are despised and hated, because on the different estates where they are employed, they go about intriguing with, and debauching, the wives of the more respectable negroes, thus occasioning frequent and dangerous quarrels. Though they have wives of their own in their villages, yet on the estates where employed, they are notorious for forming immoral connections, with the female Slaves, during their temporary residence; while at the same time they often encourage the Slaves, more especially females, to run away from their master's properties, in order to get them to work for them, or cohabit with them, or both. Both in character, steadiness, and usefulness, they are inferior to steady Slave negroes. They are many of them more given to pilfering, than the Slaves. When detected in these petty crimes, they are publicly flogged, with severity, in proportion to the offence, with the cat-o'-nine tails, which is more dreaded than the whip used to punish negroes.

They are much employed in sawing timber, which they perform at the rate of 40 dollars per 1000 feet.. When hired by the day their wages are *6s.* currency (*2s. 8d.* sterling), without provisions. When engaged by the

job in agricultural labour, they charge for cutting canes, viz.—Plant canes, from 60 to 80 dollars per *quarry* (3 1-5th acres); Ratoon canes, 40 dollars ditto. For clearing land, they charge, per *quarry*, 40 dollars; for preparing and planting it, from 120 to 140 dollars; and for weeding canes, from 20 to 30 dollars, for the same quantity; making a charge (without including *manuring* the land, where that may be found necessary) of 180 to 210 dollars per *quarry* (£14..3 per acre) to the first weeding inclusive."

When we reflect that canes in the old Colonies require to be weeded three, four, and even six times, according to the richness or the poverty of the soil or the age of the cane, the total charge of cultivation by free labour till cutting down the cane, independent of all the labour and expense in carrying, grinding, boiling, and shipping the Sugar, will, at the above rate, amount to 86 dollars, which with the exchange at 230 is £16..3..6 sterling, an expense of itself, which it is almost unnecessary to state, no Sugar cultivation can bear. The produce of an acre, good and bad, is probably at an average not above 16 cwt. In new Colonies, and new lands, where canes require fewer weedings, the cost would be two or three pounds per acre less, but then this would give these Colonies a decided superiority over the old Colonies, where the lands are poorer; and though the gangs of Slaves are in these, numerically stronger, they are of a less effective strength. This superiority would annihilate the cultivation of Sugar in these Colonies,

and throw it altogether into the rich soil, and level plains of Guiana, or a few fine sea-side estates, in our old Colonial possessions. The cultivation, by free labour is therefore, a chimera, unless the free labourers, in the West were reduced to labour for the wretched pittance of 2*d.* per day, as in the East Indies; and *two dollars* per month, as in Java; when the superiority of the West India capital, machinery, and knowledge, might come into competition with these places.

Such is the "industry and good conduct" of the free negroes in Trinidad, alluded to by Mr. Clarkson, and such the enormous expense and uncertainty of their labour, according to accounts obtained from the lips of one living in the midst of them, and who had occasion to employ them.

But this is not the first time that a trial of free labour has been unsuccessfully made in Trinidad. Soon after its capture, government were induced to bring, at a great expense, a colony of Chinese to settle there. They did nothing. They became a nuisance to the Colony, they were gamblers, swindlers, every thing that was bad. When in a few instances, they essayed field labour, they went forth to it *with a servant holding an umbrella over their heads,* to protect them from the sun! Many of them returned

to Macao, and as government was bound to defray all their expenses if they did not like the place, the expense of each individual to the state was above £200. Very few of these people now remain in Trinidad. The few that are there, are butchers, and sellers of fish, but so indolent that they buy the fish from the fishermen, and retail them out to the consumer. Why did Mr. Clarkson forget this free colony? He knows who originated the measure.

Before proceeding to Mr. Clarkson's St. Domingo case, it may be advisable here to notice another instance of advantageous, safe, and efficacious, manumission and free labour, brought forward by the violent, and intemperate author, of "the Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, on Mr. Buxton's Motion" in May last. This is the enfranchisement of twenty-five negroes, in Tortola, by Samuel Nottingham, a Quaker, their master, in 1776.

The author of the article in question, states that their number is now 43; that they live "upon the same plantation," which is chiefly "cultivated *in provisions*" having been compelled to "abandon the cultivation of cotton on account of the price *falling very low*. Not one of them is in debt, and their property is free from all incumbrance. During the whole period since their emancipation, none of them have been sued in any court, or brought before a magistrate to answer any complaint. They are all black, having intermarried with each other. Only one of them once obtained a warrant against a person who had assaulted him, who begged his pardon, and was forgiven. One of them, Jeffrey Not-

tingham, besides his share in the plantation and stock, possesses *five* acres of land, a house in Spanish-town and a vessel of twenty-three feet keel. Jeffrey's wife acts as school-mistress. She reads well. They attend the Methodist chapel at East End *."

This narrative, we are informed, is made up upon the authority of " *two respectable gentlemen who visited them in* 1822." Who these gentlemen are is not stated, but I believe they are the two commissioners sent out by government; the one it is said chosen by government, *the other* RECOMMENDED by some member or director of *the African Institution;* to examine into, and report upon the state of the captured African negroes apprenticed in Tortola. *One* of these gentlemen, I without hesitation assert, never made any such statement, as the African Institution has published; and with regard to the assertion that one of these negroes was arrested upon his return from a voyage for " *a capitation tax,*" that cannot be true, because there is no capitation tax in Tortola on free persons.

" Three respectable gentlemen" one a resident of Tortola, the others well, and *officially*, acquainted with the facts of the case, read lately in this country, the preceding statements, with expressions of wonder and astonishment, at a narrative and colouring so different from what

* Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, &c. May 15, 1823, pages 234, 236, & 237.

their own eyes and experience had taught them was the fact.

" Not only is the whole statement egregiously incorrect," says one of my informants, but he added, " I may say the circumstances of these people, are the *very reverse* of what is reported. Instead of living together upon the plantation in the manner stated, the males ramble here and there, every where forming TRANSITORY CONNEXIONS among and with the female Slaves, upon the neighbouring estates. Upon these females, with other precarious means, they are altogether dependent for sustenance. Most of the males have female Slaves for their wives, and consequently their children, when they have any, are born Slaves. They do not cultivate their own land or any other in exportable Colonial produce. They possess little stock of *any* sort. They may, indeed, be pretty clear of debt, as I am sure no one would be silly enough to credit them to the smallest amount. In short they are an intolerable nuisance to people of all ranks, wherever they take up their abode, which seldom is long in one place. I remember, a few years since, seeing one of them in the court-house attending a prosecution of his against a gentleman of the neighbourhood, for an assault and battery on his own person. The gentleman having found him in the VERY ACT of committing some *depredation on his property*, was from the fellow's unbounded insolence, provoked to lay his whip, which he happened to have in his hand at the time, over him. In the course of the trial, when the defendant's counsel commenced his defence, he requested the plaintiff to come immediately opposite to him, for the purpose of cross examining him, when to his astonishment, and the astonishment OF THE WHOLE COURT, the counsel found, adorning the shirt collar of the plaintiff, a gold sleeve button of his own, which he immediately claimed, shewing the court the fellow to it. The button had been STOLEN some time previous, by a female Slave belonging to the counsel, and wife to the plaintiff*." &c.

" The principal increase amongst these people," says another informant, " proceeds from a connexion with Slaves and free people unconnected with the Nottingham family. GRACE, the wife of Jeffrey, is an enfran-

* Thus far my first correspondent. He has returned to Tortola, and means to investigate most particularly, the past history of these people. *(Letter, Nov.* 24, 1823.)

chised female, formerly belonging to Mrs. FRETT. Such is their low and mean condition that there are only *two* decent houses on the establishment of LONGLOOK, the one built by JASPER RAPSOT, a freeman and a shipwright, who lives with EVE NOTTINGHAM; and the other built by JEFFREY, *a Slave* belonging to Mr. PICKERING, a neighbouring proprietor, and which Slave Jeffrey lived with DIANA NOTTINGHAM. The ground belonging to this woman was partly cultivated by Mr. Pickering's Slaves, hired by their fellow Slave Jeffrey to do so during their time when not engaged in labour for their master. The greater part of the females liberated by Mr. Nottingham died without issue. Most of the males connected themselves with female Slaves, and were consequently relieved from the trouble of providing for, and supporting their children."

"Besides their liberty and the land, Mr. Nottingham's negroes were left a legacy of £31 6..16*s.* sterling by his sister, and which was paid to them by Dr. DAWSON of Tortola. Not a fourth part of the property left to them, and some negroes also manumitted by Mr. Perceval, and Mrs. Vanterpool, and Mrs. Frett, remains in their hands. They do not raise one single article of exportable produce for the European market. They rear nothing that produces either taxes to the Colony or revenue to the Mother Country. By the labour of Slaves belonging to the neighbouring plantations they collect some means of barter, such as a little fire-wood, and perhaps some country provisions, which they carry to the Danish island of St. Thomas, to market, and bring back from thence in exchange the coarsest American productions and imports, such as a few boards and shingles, salt-fish, and similar articles, not one of which is the production of the soil, skill, or manufacture of Great Britain."

To these things which they bring back in exchange for their rude productions I would call the attention of the commercial interests, the manufacturers, and the Ministers of Great Britain. They bring back then, and they use the coarse produce and manufactures of the United States, which suit their contracted ideas and circumstances, and which they prefer to

British, probably from the readiness with which these goods are exchanged for their rude productions. Thus would emancipated West Indian Slaves supply themselves with the few necessaries they require, and from the productions of a rival power in trade and commerce.

With regard to the African negroes, 534 in number, emancipated and apprenticed in Tortola by Act of Parliament, suffice it to say, that the expiration of their indentures being at hand, a petition has been transmitted from Tortola to the King in Council *, imploring his Majesty to remove these negroes from the Colony, because they cannot support themselves, and the Colony is unable to do it. They form a distinct class of society, having never amalgamated with either the free or the Slave population. The latter class they despise, and that class in return look upon these emancipated Africans with jealousy, hatred, and contempt. As a proof that manumitted Slaves will not labour, or hire themselves for agricultural labour, the petition from Tortola states that of seventy-six adults manumitted since the first registry in 1818, not one is exclusively engaged in agriculture, and but a few are partial cultivators. To seventy-three manumitted at different times, more than

* Petition, dated 5th March, 1823.

300 acres of good land were given, yet only two or three of that number subsist on the produce of the soil, and two or three more are partial cultivators. Not a single instance has occurred of any individual from either class having hired themselves as field labourers. And unless they betake themselves to cultivate produce for exportation as the number of manumitted negroes increases, they must cease to obtain a profitable market for the provisions they raise, from the impoverished state and decreased number of people in the Colony.

This picture, which I believe is the correct one, because the veracity of my correspondents is undoubted, and because it corresponds with what I witnessed myself in other places, presents a very different aspect of affairs from that put forward by the African Institution.

The writers for that body seldom think, or they would not be led into such gross and palpable contradictions. From this account we learn the truth, in the face of their numerous assertions and libels, namely, that negroes are and may be emancipated without difficulty, and remain free, protected, and not liable to be sold *as Slaves though black.* We learn also a more important fact, namely, that *free labourers* in Tortola, with the land

and *houses*, and moveable property in cash, given to them as a present, have been and are *beaten out of the home market* in the cheapest of all cultivation, cotton, by the same article produced by *Slave labour in the United States*, and even in the very Colony of Tortola, where cotton is cultivated by Slaves*. They, these enfranchised negroes, unencumbered, unembarrassed, and paying no Colonial taxes, were *compelled* to discontinue the cultivation of cotton, from "THE PRICE FALLING VERY LOW." This admission—this fact speaks volumes.

Considering all these cases, brought forward by the anti-Colonists, those of the public who may see them in the most favourable and sanguine point of view, will adopt Mr. Clarkson's sentiments and say—"they can give us nothing like a *positive assurance* that the negroe Slaves in our Colonies would pass through the ordeal of emancipation without danger to their masters or the community at large." *Certainly not.* "Nor if these instances had been far more numerous than they are, could they, in this world of accidents, have given us a moral certainty of this†."

* Here we have an answer to Hodgson's pamphlet on the comparative cheapness of free and Slave labour. For it is of little consequence which is cheapest, if free negroes will not work in the West India agriculture for such terms, and from such inducements, as the value of Colonial productions can afford to give.

† Clarkson's "*Thoughts*," page 18.

CHAPTER VII.

St. Domingo—adduced by Mr. Clarkson as a proof of the blessings and advantages of negroe emancipation —his accounts relative to it in every point at variance with historical facts.—True account of the rise and progress of the insurrection in it.—Horrid cruelties.—Island totally ruined.—British expedition there in 1795.*—Forced to abandon it.—Its former state and trade.—Its present state and trade, from official and authentic documents.—Striking contrast... Miserable state of the country compared to what it formerly was.—Immoral and debased and degraded state of its population.—Sinking fast into their original barbarism.—Productive industry on the lowest scale, &c. &c.....*176

MR. CLARKSON as a "*fifth Case*" turns to St. Domingo, where he asserts that great bodies of negroes were emancipated suddenly, without danger, and with the happiest effect. It is difficult to compress within moderate bounds Mr. Clarkson's statements on this head, in which historical facts are withheld, and more distorted and violated than ever was in any previous case attempted by human ingenuity. That

I may not be accused of mis-statement, I shall endeavour to condense in a note the points brought forward by Mr. Clarkson as requiring and being most deserving of notice *. To these the reader is referred for a view of Mr. Clarkson's assertions and hardy averments.

* After noticing the ambiguous decree of the French Assembly, 1790, relative to the rights of the free coloured people in St. Domingo, Mr. Clarkson proceeds to state that it occasioned animosities *between them and the whites*—"disturbances took place and blood was shed." On the 15th May 1791, the French Legislative Assembly, in consequence of a petition from the free people of colour, decreed that "the people of colour in all the French islands were entitled to the rights of citizenship, provided they were born of free parents on both sides." This decree irritated the whites. "Both parties armed against each other—horrible massacres and conflagrations followed;" in consequence of which "the Assembly rescinded the decree in the same year." This news reaching St. Domingo in 1792, enraged the people of colour, which the Assembly learning, and perceiving no end to these troubles, and resolving "to do justice, whatever the consequences might be," sent two commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel, to St. Domingo. This state ("of bad blood") continuing after their arrival, at last broke out into open war on the 20th June 1793.—"The seamen left the ships in the roads and came on shore, and made a common cause with the white inhabitants of the town." They were opposed "by the mulattoes and other people of colour, and these were afterwards joined by some insurgent blacks. The battle lasted two days—thousands were killed in the streets—half the town was burnt. Only 1000 troops remained in the place. The Commissioners determined to call in the INSURGENT Slaves in the neighbourhood to their assistance. They issued a proclamation by which they promised to give freedom to all blacks who were willing to range themselves under the banners of the Republic. This was the *first* proclamation made by public authority for emancipating the Slaves in St. Domingo. It is called the proclamation of Santhonax. The result of it was, that a considerable number of Slaves concerned were enfranchised." (p. 20, 21.)

"Polverel left his colleague at the Cape and went to Port au Prince—

In substance Mr. Clarkson's statements amount to this, namely, that the quarrels between the French royalists and republicans—the

there the negroes had become acquainted with what had taken place in the North, and not only with the RIOTS at the Cape, but the proclamation of Santhonax." He saw the necessity of extending the proclamation to the whole island. Accordingly, " in September, 1793, he drew up a proclamation without further delay to that effect. All the Planters except one gave in their signatures, and in the month of February 1794, the French Convention passed a decree for the abolition of Slavery throughout the whole of the French Colonies. This decree put therefore the finishing stroke to the whole. It completed the emancipation of the whole Slave population of St. Domingo." (page 21, 22.)

" Of those who were emancipated by Santhonax in the North, I do not find, in the various histories I have seen, any thing PARTICULAR to communicate. We are enabled to give a very PLEASING account of those emancipated by Polverel in the South and the West. The negroes, says Malenfant, remained quiet, both in the South and the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates indeed, which had NEITHER OWNERS NOR MANAGERS resident upon them," because they " had FLED to the quarter which had just been given up to the English. On those estates, the negroes betook themselves to PLANTING PROVISIONS ; but on all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labour as QUIETLY AS BEFORE ; and not only so, but there was a spirit of industry among them, and they gave no uneasiness to their employers." (page 22, 23.)

Such was the conduct of the negroes up to the middle of 1794. " DURING THE YEAR 1795 AND PART OF 1796, I can learn nothing about them, though I have ransacked the FRENCH historians for this purpose." Lest his readers should mistake dates, and blame the emancipated negroes, be it remembered, says Mr. Clarkson, that " the great massacres and conflagrations, which at that time made so frightful a picture in the history of this unhappy island, occurred in the days of Slavery, before the proclamations of Santhonax and Polverel, and before the great conventional decree of the mother country was known. They had been occasioned too, NOT originally by the Slaves themselves, but by quarrels between the white and coloured planters, and between the royal-

whites and the mulattoes, was the sole cause of the miseries of St. Domingo—that the negroes did not emancipate themselves, but were eman-

ists and revolutionists, who, for the purpose of wreaking their vengeance upon each other, CALLED IN THE AID OF THE SLAVES; and as to the INSURGENT negroes of the North, IN PARTICULAR, who filled that part of the Colony in those years with terror and dismay, THEY WERE ORIGINALLY put in motion, says *Malenfant*, by the royalists themselves, to strengthen their own cause, and to put down the partizans of the French revolution. When Jean François and Beasson commenced the insurrection, there were MANY WHITE royalists with them, and the negroes were made to wear the white cockade. I repeat then, that during the years 1795 and 1796, I can find nothing in the history of St. Domingo, wherewith to reproach the emancipated negroes in the way of outrage." (p. 23.)

" From the latter end of 1796 to 1802," says Malenfant, " the Colony was flourishing under Toussaint. The *whites* lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them." Lacroix says, when Santhonax returned to the Colony in 1796, " he was astonished at the state he found it in on his return;" and says the same author, " the Colony in 1797, marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendour; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations of the North rose up visibly again to the eye." Even Mr. Clarkson is staggered at this, and with much simplicity adds, " MANY OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES than the mere emancipation of the Slaves in St. Domingo, may have contributed to its growth; but I maintain, that unless, the negroes who were THEN FREE, had done their part as labourers, both by working regularly and industriously, and by OBEYING the directions of their SUPERINTENDANTS or masters; the Colony could never have prospered, as relates to cultivation, in the manner described." (page 24, 25.)

Speaking of the invasion of St. Domingo, under Bonaparte, in 1802, Mr. Clarkson says, " a scene of blood and torture followed, such as history had seldom or ever disclosed, and compared to which, though planned and executed by whites, all the barbarities said to have been perpetrated by the insurgent blacks of the North amount comparatively to nothing. The French troops were not the authors of tearing to pieces the negroes by bloodhounds, or drowning them, by scuttling and sinking

cipated "at once and in a single day," by order of the French Government, and without danger or disturbance, for they continued to labour upon the properties on which the proprietors "lived peaceably, without interruption or disturbance," till the invasion by the French in 1802, under Leclerc, the brother-in-law of Buonaparte, —"till that time the Planters had retained their property, and then it was, but not till then, they lost their all." p. 24, 26.

Mr. Clarkson's principal authority in these statements is, "*Colonel Malenfant.*" But he has not told us, who Colonel Malenfant is. It is, however, of great importance to know this. Well then, Colonel *Malenfant* was one of the creatures—*spies* of the infamous and notorious Victor Hugues, one of the most savage of the worshippers of the Goddess of Reason, and who

the vessels—but THE PLANTERS." Mr. Clarkson must know, that it was the French troops and the French troops alone who perpetrated these horrors—there were no French planters there to do or advise it. "By the decree of Polverel, sanctioned afterwards by the convention, the Slaves were made free at once, or in a single day. Two years before this liberation, the island was a prey to political discord, civil war, and foreign invasion. The English AT THE SAME TIME, were masters of the strong maritime ports, and were alarming the country by their incursions—the Slaves had unfortunately been taught to imbibe political animosities, and to take the side of their respective masters, and had been familiarized to scenes of violence and bloodshed." Still "the government of that island was French, or *white*, from the very infancy of emancipation, to the arrival of Leclerc." (page 26, 28, 29.) Thus far, Mr. Clarkson.

covered the West Indies with anarchy, ashes, and blood. Sent to Surinam to kindle up insurrection, Colonel Malenfant was detected, his life forfeited; but aware, that if he was put to death, other emissaries would be sent in his place, the governor bribed him to make a report to Victor Hugues, that insurrection was impracticable in that colony; which bribe he accepted, and was let go. Such was Colonel Malenfant, and such Mr. Clarkson's authority.

Without a single exception, all the particulars of the narrative regarding St. Domingo, as stated by Mr. Clarkson, are at variance with history, the history of our own times. To violate truth, merely for the purpose of concealing the atrocities of Slaves, and the consequences of the proceedings of rash innovators, in order to throw odium upon the whites, their masters (for such only can be the object in view), is not more scandalous than reprehensible. When he states that the royalists called in the aid of the Slaves, in 1791, to put down the French revolutionists, he states what is directly at variance with the fact.

The French revolution which, with its infamous principles, convulsed the world, and boasted to have been built upon the very foundation on which Mr. Clarkson grounds his charges against

our West India Colonies; namely, "*nature and reason,*" (p. 56) was felt as might have been anticipated, with the most terrific consequences in St. Domingo. The *ami des noirs* had their agents dispersed in the Colonies to counteract every thing that the Colonial governments or the government of the mother country might do or attempt, with a view to restore tranquillity or to preserve it. The latter in all their acts were agitated and distracted, by a set of speculative atheists, who eagerly sought to plunge their country, and the human race, into the horrors of anarchy and bloodshed.

In 1790, the mulattoes under Ogè, rose in arms to obtain an equality of rights with the whites. They were defeated. They were subdued. On the 15th May, 1791, the French assembly decreed the equality of rights to the *free* people of colour. The whites refused to accede to the decree. The mulattoes remonstrated, but in vain. In this state both were assailed by a new and remorseless foe. On the fatal 23rd of August, a general revolt took place amongst the Slaves, but so far were the mulattoes from joining them, that they placed their children as hostages in the hands of the white authorities, and marched with the white troops against the common enemy. The

work of destruction proceeded with swift steps. Massacre, flames, and violence, spread over the fine plains of the Cape. In one week, a space of 35 miles of country, cultivated like a garden, was reduced to a wilderness covered with ashes, carcases, and blood. Wherever the whites were found, they were put to death amidst the most excruciating tortures. The women were ravished by troops of barbarians, and afterwards slain, or reserved for a repetition of their horrid degradation. Scenes of horror and cruelty followed, which it is utterly impossible to describe. Mr. Clarkson says, the insurgents fought under the "*white flag.*" The first ensign, which the few troops sent out upon the first alarm, to *Mr. Galliffet's* estate, about five miles from the capital, saw, was "*the body of a* WHITE INFANT *impaled alive upon a stake,*" and borne by the negroes as their "*standard.*" Why does Mr. Clarkson, like the Edinburgh Review, suppress this horrid circumstance? A few white men, indeed, joined and were found in the ranks of the rebels, but not "many," nor "royalists," as Mr. Clarkson asserts. One of these, and the chief cause of the revolt, was a monk, named *Pere Philemon*, rector of Limbè, who caused the white prisoners to suffer the most excruciating torments in the rebel camp. He was a scholar of the club *ami*

des noirs,—the Missionary of St. Domingo. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and met the fate he richly deserved, for the horrors he had occasioned, and cruelties he had committed *.

* A few of the horrors committed in St. Domingo may be here noticed, as a warning to those who have colonies peopled by African Slaves.

The wife and three daughters of *M. Faville* while imploring mercy for him, saw the husband and father, cut to pieces before their eyes by the savages. Carried away captives, they were reserved for a more horrid fate.

On the estate of *M. Gallifet*, the negroes, had been treated kindly to a proverb. When the revolt began, *M. Odeluc*, the attorney, thinking they would remain faithful, went out to the plantation with a friend, and some soldiers. He found them in open rebellion, and *their standard was the body of a white infant, which they had recently impaled on a stake* *. Himself, friend, and most of the soldiers were murdered without mercy, a few only of the patrole escaping, to tell the dreadful tale.

Mr. Blen, an officer of police, was nailed alive, to one of the gates of his plantation, and his limbs, one by one, chopped off with an axe.

A poor man named *Robert*, a carpenter, was dragged from his hiding place, and that "*he might die in the way of his occupation*," the savages deliberately sawed him asunder.

M. Cardinneau, a planter of Grand Riviere, offered two of his own mulatto children money, to remain faithful. They took the money and then stabbed their parent to the heart.

In the parish of Limbe, at a place called Great Ravine, a venerable planter, who had two beautiful daughters, while he was tied down, saw his eldest daughter ravished before his eyes by one barbarian, and his youngest delivered over to another, to be subjected to the same fate.

Near Jeremie, a body of mulattoes secured M. Sejourne and his wife, in their own house. The monsters murdered the husband before the eyes of his wife. She was far advanced in pregnancy. They ripped her up alive, and threw the infant to the *hogs*. They then (how shall I relate it?) sewed up the head of the murdered husband in —— ——!!!

At

* The Edinburgh Review with that cool malignity, which characterises it against the white colonists, conceals this dreadful tale, and excuses the murderer of M. Odeluc, by a direct falsehood, namely, that he treated the Slaves with great cruelty.

Though the town was preserved, the country was laid waste. The energy and intelligence of a few Europeans, however, after terrible struggles, were fast overpowering the ferocity and ignorance of savages, when another act of the unsteady government of France rekindled the flame fiercer than before. They rescinded, on the 24th September, 1791, the decree granting equality of rights to the coloured people. This fatal measure soon reached St. Domingo. The mulattoes separated themselves from the whites and joined the negroes, and commenced a scene of similar horrors on the plains to the East of the Cape which had been perpetrated around it. One *Jeannet* was proclaimed chief, and by his orders General Paul Belin, who was suspected by him, was hewed to pieces and his remains cast into the fire. The finest parts of St. Domingo were soon and

At another place, a favourite negro murdered his master Stretched on the dead body of her husband, the villain's mistress, was afterwards subjected to the assassin's lust.

All the white and mulatto children, whose fathers had not joined the revolt, were murdered without exception, before the eyes, or clinging to the bosoms of their mothers. Young women of all ranks were first violated by a troop of barbarians, and frequently afterwards put to death. Some of them were reserved for the further gratification of the lust of the savages, and others had their eyes scooped out with a knife.

Monsters such as these, deserved no mercy, and found none. When taken, they were put to death amidst tortures the most excruciating that could be devised. *(Speech Deputies, 3rd Nov. 1791, to French Assembly.)*

completely reduced to the state of a wilderness covered with misery, want, and despair. Alternately defeated and victorious, yet gaining fresh strength, the revolted negroes returned to the charge. Scanty supplies and reinforcements arrived from France, and the bloody struggle and work of destruction was continued during the year 1792.

Brissot, in 1792, procured the re-enactment of the decree granting equal rights to the Mulattoes, and Santhonax, Polverel, and Allhaud were sent as commissioners to heal the discord in St. Domingo. Secret instructions from the friends of the blacks in Paris, and their own avarice, ambition, and ignorance, rendered bad worse.

When Santhonax and Polverel arrived in St. Domingo, they found the whites and mulattoes reconciled, and the insurgent negroes in a great measure subdued and returned to their work. Those republican fanatics, however, quickly sowed discord between the whites and mulattoes again, and the consequences were fresh tumults and extended revolt amongst the Slaves*. These, however, were again, in a great measure, got over. On the 12th and 13th January, 1793, their chief fort, and

* St. Domingo, October 26th, 1792.

all their lesser forts and cannon were taken, and peace seemed upon the point of being restored. * Santhonax, however, by his conduct blasted the fair prospect. Encouraged by him, the mulattoes and negroes, on the 17th and 18th June, 1793, attacked, wounded, abused, and insulted the whites, who had given them no provocation, and who applied in vain to the commissioners for protection and redress. A terrible catastrophe was thus precipitated. The fleet and shipping took part with the white inhabitants. The mulattoes were fired upon as they approached the house of government to solicit redress. On the 20th, a frightful contest ensued, which continued till dark. The commissioners headed the mulattoes and the negroes, and having the worst of it, they then had recourse to their secret instructions, and proclaimed, June 23rd, *the emancipation of all the Slaves in the Colony,* upon the condition of their joining them. From every quarter the Slaves rushed into Cape François, the capital. A general massacre of the whites, men, women, and children ensued. The whites defended themselves with the courage of despair. They were ordered not to leave their houses. Where they

* St. Domingo, January 23rd, 1793.

did not, the negroes entered and butchered them in cold blood. Horror and carnage were general. The town was set on fire in various places, and almost consumed. The shipping fled, and bore with it about 2500 miserable wretches—whites, who had the good fortune to escape with the loss of their all*. Several escaped to Jamaica with a few of their most faithful Slaves, where they settled and commenced cultivating coffee. Terror and confusion reigned over St. Domingo, and negro supremacy was from that moment established, and by the frantic conduct of the convention, extended to all their Colonies, and attempted, with too much success, to be introduced into the Colonies of Great Britain. During 1795 and 1796, Grenada, St. Vincents, and St. Lucia were desolated by negro revolt and the principles of liberty and equality.

In every point the truth is the reverse of what Mr. Clarkson has thought proper to state. The cruelties committed by the monster Santhonax, who seems to be a particular favourite with Mr. Clarkson, were incredible. In one house 300 persons were shut up, and burnt by the negroes, and the party attached to this inhuman com-

* St. Domingo, June 24th, 1793.

missioner*. "The cruelty of Santhonax and Polverel," said Verneuil, "was horrible. The wife of La Coste, to escape their barbarity, after seeing her husband murdered, threw her eldest child into the sea, and seizing the other, plunged with it into the water, and was drowned†."

Revolution, anarchy, and slaughter, reigned triumphant in St. Domingo. So dreadful were the scenes of carnage, that Bourdon, *le Oise* declared, in the Council of 500, November 10th, 1796, that of 450,000 negroes which were in St. Domingo in 1792, only 130,000 remained; of 25,000 people of colour, only 15,000 remained, and of 40,000 whites, only 20,000 were left alive in 1795. Santhonax and Polverel, on their own account, plundered 200 millions of livres‡. While the loss of property to individuals, bereft of their all, exceeded, at the lowest calculation, £100,000,000 sterling.

In 1795, the British were induced, by the representations of some French Colonial emigrants, to invade St. Domingo. With a considerable force they obtained possession of the sea-ports and drove back the negroes and republican troops to the interior. The climate,

* Convention, October 14th, 1793.

† Ibid. August 22nd, 1794. ‡ Ibid. August 22nd, 1794.

however, and the harassing nature of the warfare soon made terrible ravages among them, and, finding that the negroes were not to be reduced to subjection, they, after great loss and expense, finally abandoned the island in 1798. At the same time the wretched remains of the French white population abandoned a country overwhelmed with desolation, retired to Cuba, from whence the Spaniards drove them away, and finally, several thousands of them settled in the United States, and principally in New Orleans, in the most wretched state of misery and poverty that could possibly be imagined; as gentlemen have informed me who helped to relieve them.

Under the dominion of the British, cultivation again began to rear its head in St. Domingo; but at their departure, notwithstanding all the talent and despotic power of Toussaint, the wisest and best head that St Domingo has had, since revolutionized, it quickly decayed; and from that time to this it has been nearly abandoned. It is in this part of his subject that Mr. Clarkson's disingenuity and misrepresentation are so conspicuously displayed. He ought certainly to have known these facts—but, he affects to say, that during 1795 and 1796, he could find nothing in French historians concerning the

emancipated negroes in St. Domingo *. No! but he could, if he had chosen, have found plenty about them in British historians—in the London Gazette

* Mr. Clarkson throws a veil over St. Domingo in 1795 and 1796, and 1797, which I shall endeavour shortly to draw aside. The negroes, he says, continued, he presumes, to work as quietly as before, while Santhonax, and others, were astonished, upon their return to the colony, at the flourishing state in which they found it. Mr. Clarkson omits to state that the districts of Grandbois, and Mirabelais, had been conquered and preserved by the British; and that into these flourishing districts, containing 490 plantations, and 12,000 negroes, the rash decrees and authority of the commissioners, had never been acknowledged or obeyed *. Here cultivation flourished.

How quiet and settled the negroes were in the years alluded to, may be shewn from the official proclamations, both of our own, and of the French government, and their respective authorities. In the proclamation of Admiral Parker, in the name of the late king, December 10, 1795, the latter speaks only of " the excess and universality of the calamities" which had overspread St. Domingo, and adds, that it was the duty and " he owed it to the glory of his arms, to complete" the subjugation by force, —he owes it to public morals, to annihilate a system *destructive of all the social bonds which unite the colonists among themselves*, and which unite the whole to one sovereign," and at the same time " to extend his succouring hand to a multitude of worthy men, who *groan in every part of the island*, and invoke his protection †."

Santhonax soon after his arrival, issued a proclamation, to bring the emancipated negroes into something like social order. He called upon them to devote themselves to industry, and agriculture and " to renounce that *state of vagrancy* which the laws of the republic would punish ‡" On the 21st March preceding, Toussaint informed Adet, the French minister in the United States, that he had with some difficulty, put down the mulattoes, who had rebelled, attacked and ill-treated the inhabitants, and endeavoured to seize the reins of government, and on the 14th May,

* Port au Prince, Sept. 5 & 11, 1795.

† Proclamation Cape Nichola Mole.

‡ Ibid. May 15, 1796.

for instance; and when he affects to show us, upon the authority of Lacroix, the renovated state of St. Domingo around the Cape, in 1797,

1796, the commissioners themselves, wrote to the Directory, that St. Domingo abounded " with projects of ambition, disorder, and pretensions, &c."

When the Spanish part of St. Domingo was attempted to be seized on the part of the French Republic, the inhabitants solicited and obtained protection from the British to avert such a fearful calamity. What kind of men and what kind of principles these commissioners promulgated, the proclamation by General Forbes, 12th July, 1796, will clearly point out to us. Addressing himself to the Spanish part of the Colony, he says, " I have perused the proclamations of these hypocritical and perverse agents, whose FIRST MISSION to St. Domingo was marked with insurrection, with the firing of the plantations, and the assassination of their owners, &c."

To give a specimen of the scenes passing in the Republican part of St. Domingo, at this time, the following is deemed sufficient. Early in August, 1796, the French were defeated at Jeremie. The arrest of some people of colour produced a serious insurrection. General de Furneu escaped in a boat. The rage of the mulattoes was principally directed against the whites. About one hundred were massacred. Some were butchered in a horrid manner, and their bloody and mangled corpses were exultingly carried about the streets, and these scenes continued till the arrival of General Rigaud, put an end to the carnage *.

The proclamation issued by Santhonax, directing and commanding the negroes to return to work had no effect. " They refused to return to their labour on the plantations as he had enjoined, in a proclamation, requiring those who had been formed into military corps to resume their work. They in answer alledged that being free men, they would only work when and as long as they pleased. Santhonax was consequently very much distressed, as he had persecuted the mulattoes with an idea that the negroes would remain faithful to him; they, on the contrary had disconcerted all his plans, by threatening to retire into the mountains †."

* New York, 21st October, 1796, from Captain Brown, an eye-witness to the facts.

† Jamaica Gazettes, August 1796—authentic accounts from Cape Nichola Mole, July 22d. 1796.

he has omitted, purposely it would seem, to state that that cultivation and prosperity were only seen under British bayonets, and vanished as soon

Mr. Clarkson states that he can meet with nothing regarding St. Domingo in French authors of 1796. The following particulars from the pen of *citizen* DUGROY, inserted in the Republican Français, and addressed to the French government, October 1796, may therefore be acceptable to him.

Fort Dauphin, ceded by Spain in the most dreadful and distressed state. CAPE FRANCOIS, only 50 houses remaining; Caprice commissioners, by their orders, consumed this fine city. PORT MORGIT, a fourth absolutely destroyed. PORT DE PAIX equally ravaged. Men of colour recently put to death, 150 blacks of every age in this city. This side once the best cultivated—plantations, working-houses, magazines, and habitations, all laid waste. On the south, which extends from Cape Tiberon, 70 leagues—here insurrection proclaimed by law—completely devastated—at this day exposed to the horrors of violent anarchy. Proprietors burn, massacre, and destroy each other—negroes closely imitate their example. Western part, from Cape Tiberon to St. Nicholas Mole, 100 leagues, now held by the British—reaped this year 20,000,000 livres in Sugar, coffee, &c., supplied the wants of the people and extended their own commerce. Cannot pass from these districts without being massacred by negroes, become savage from anarchy. These negroes, by too sudden a passage from bondage to liberty, have formed themselves into savage bands, which must remain the terror of all government. The agents sent out to St. Domingo, *amused* themselves by preaching up havoc and destruction. In last, *Floreal* they published a system of liberty free from the smallest controul, diverted themselves by forming municipalities of ignorant negroes—organized a banditti—made generals of men known for their barbarous ferocity—armed them against the whites. Sovereignty of the island lodged in the hands of about a dozen barbarians. Whites, Europeans, or creoles, made valets, *Slaves*, or victims, to people of colour. French women, daughters of white inhabitants, compelled to act as servants and Slaves to negroes, under pain of death. Others nurse negro infants. No trade, no labour, nothing to exchange. Air infected from the unburied dead. These facts cannot be denied by the butchers of the Colonies, who dread the moment that the nation will demand a ri-

as they were withdrawn. More disingenuous conduct than this pursued by Mr. Clarkson I never met with, nor to support a fallacious and dangerous theory, a more unfair concealment and perversion of facts.

From the death of Toussaint, and the final evacuation of the country by the French in 1804, St. Domingo has been ruled by a succession of tyrants, whose title has been the sword. Continued wars took place between the mulattoes at Port-au-Prince, and the blacks at the Cape, which finally ended in the subjection of the latter to the former, under Boyer. Cultivation has been attempted by them all, but with little success. From Toussaint downwards, the musket and bayonet were substituted for the whip; and the negro who would not work was, without ceremony, shot. Such efforts were, however, attended with little effect; and let Mr. Clarkson and the African Institution say what they will, the population of St. Domingo remain to this day savages—lazy, ignorant, rude —more barbarous by the change.

Within these few years, and during the reign of Christophe, the master of a ship, (an old ac-

gorous account of their conduct. The blood of the people runs in great floods. All means of agriculture and commerce are destroyed. The Directory called upon to interfere, examine, and punish the guilty.

quaintance), assured me, that were he to be offered his ship as a present, he would not be induced to return to that desolated spot. When there, engaged in lawful commerce, he never, as he stated, when he went ashore felt confident of returning alive, nor when he went to bed could he say he should see another morning; such was the fearful tyranny and caprice of the despot who bore sway, and the ferocious tribe that obeyed him.

Twenty years have now elapsed since the last French invasion, and the deliverance of St. Domingo from all foreign attacks. In that time what has she done? From the remaining old coffee and cocoa trees her miserable population collect a scanty quantity of produce which their despotic master takes as his own, and by his agents exchanges it, chiefly with the Americans, for such supplies as they bring, which supplies are again retailed out, at the prices he may think proper to affix to them. The cultivation of Sugar in what may be called the emancipated part, has dwindled down to almost nothing; and the Sugar cultivation in the Spanish part, now that it is enfranchised, and come under the yoke of Boyer, will soon decay, and that quarter, like the other, become comparatively desolate and wild. Christophe

made every exertion to restore Sugar cultivation, but he failed. A certain quantity of labour was allotted to the negroes; if they refused to work, or neglected to work, they were, at the outset, frequently scourged with a branch torn from the Gum-Arabic-thorn *—a punishment the most cruel that can be conceived. Subsequently the musquet was substituted, and the indolent negroes were shot. No one durst complain, or make any observations on their fate. All the efforts of the most cruel and relentless tyranny could not restore the cultivation of the cane in St. Domingo; and it is an undeniable fact, that the Americans find the importation of foreign muscovado Sugar into some districts of St. Domingo, a necessary and profitable article of commerce.

From authentic documents and official returns, I shall proceed to lay before my readers a statement of what was the situation of St. Domingo previous to the insurrection, and what it is at the present day, which will, I apprehend, strike even the most thoughtless emancipator with astonishment and alarm. In 1791, St. Domingo was the seat of commerce, abundance, and civilization. The returns of its trade, and the value of

* The prickles are extremely long, hard, and sharp like needles, but so brittle that when they penetrate the flesh they break into pieces and cannot be extracted, and thus occasion locked jaw. The "Crown of Thorns" for our Saviour was, it is supposed, made of this thorn.

of the property therein, as given in to the French Legislative Assembly, stood as under, viz. :—

ST. DOMINGO IN 1791.

	lbs.	Value in livres.
Clayed Sugar	70,227,708	67,670,781
Brown do.	93,177,512	49,941,567
Coffee	68,151,180	51,890,748
Cotton	6,286,126	17,572,252
Indigo	930,016	10,875,120
Cocoa	150,000	120,000
Gayo, Ajaca et Campeche	1,500,000	140,000
Tortoise-shell	5,000	50,000
Casks Molasses	29,502	1,947,132
Puncheons Taffia	303	21,816
Tanned Hides	5,186	93,348
Untanned do.	7,887	78,870
Value in livres of 6 sous		200,301,634
Sold in France for do. do. (or nearly £8,000,000 sterling		193,377,468
Droits percues in do.		6,924,166

VALUE OF PROPERTY EMPLOYED IN CULTURE.

Estates.	No.	Value each.	Value in livres.
Clayed Sugar	451	330,000	103,730,000
Brown do.	341	180,000	61,380,000
Coffee	2,810	20,000	56,200,000
Indigo	3,097	30,000	92,910,000
Cotton	705	30,000	21,150,000
Cocoa Estates	69	4,000	275,000
Guildiveries	173	5,000	865,000
Tanneries	3	160,000	480,000
Foursa Chaux Briqueries & Potteries	437½	15,000	5,510,000
Negroes on Estates	455,000	2,500	1,137,500,000
Horses and Mules	16,000	400	6,400,000
Horned Cattle	12,000	120	1,440,000
Negroes not on Estates	46,000	2,500	115,000,000
Total livres of 6 sous			1,602,840,000

In

In 1788, in the European trade, it employed 580 vessels, averaging 325½ tons each, together 189,679 tons—in the American trade, 763 vessels, 55,745 tons, or 73 tons each—in the Spanish trade, 259 vessels, 15,417 tons, or 59 tons each—in the African trade, 98 vessels, which carried 29,506 negroes, which sold at £60 sterling each. The imports from Europe were valued at 86,414,040 livres—from the Spanish colonies, 9,717,123 livres—and from North America, 6,821,707 livres. The exports to the Spanish colonies, were valued at 5,587,515 livres, and to North America, 4,409,922 livres. The number of white inhabitants amounted to 30,831, the mulattoes and free people to 24,000, negroes attached to estates 455,000, and negroes not attached to estates 46,000—together 501,000.

The quantity of sugar above-mentioned, reduced into muscovado by the usual scale, and then into English weight, is equal to 230,570,107 lbs. above half the quantity that all the West India colonies, with the exception of Cuba, now produces.

Of the Spanish part of this valuable island the information at so late a period is not so correct. As far back as the beginning of last century, it produced 15,000 chests of 7 cwt. each, all clayed, which is 105,000 cwt. and equal to 19,992,200 lbs. muscovado. There can be no question that down to the year 1791 the quantity must have been very considerably increased.

In 1791, the insurrection broke out, and cultivation and commerce ceased. Upon the authority of *Perraud*, the intendant, the following is the quantity of the different kinds of produce exported from the 14th July 1794, to the month of September 1796, a period of twenty-seven months:—

White Sugar, value in livres - -	15,790
Brown ditto - - - - - - - -	3,922,568
Syrup and Taffia - - - - -	900
Coffee - - - - - - - - - -	5,013,569
Cotton - - - - - - - - - -	170,984
Indigo - - - - - - - - - -	11,590
Total	9,135,401

Here we have a striking proof of the fatal effects of negro emancipation, and a direct contradiction to Mr. Clarkson's averments of their good conduct and "continuing to labour as before."

In 1805 the export of Coffee from St. Domingo was estimated at 30,000,000 lbs. but that was probably too much. At present the export of Coffee (the only article of produce it may be said to export) is certainly under 20,000,000 lbs. St. Domingo has no merchant ships. Her trade is carried on by foreigners, and is chiefly in the hands of the Americans and British. The former have by far the largest share. The whole exports are certainly under £900,000 per annum, as the annexed returns and calculations will shew*. In the American im-

* Port au Prince is supposed to have half the trade of the island. For the first six months of 1822 the following was the trade of that port.

		Dollars.	Tons.
Imports from	United States -	410,292	9,935
..	France - - -	136,558	1,218
..	British - - -	200,192	1,196
..	Germany & Holland	203,163	1,461

Port au Prince, Sept. 7, 1822.

BRITISH IMPORTS OF THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES, VIZ.

	Sugar.	Coffee.
1814	2,113 0 0	—
1815	30,559 0 0	—
1816	10,920 0 0	—
1821	0 1 17	78,083 cwts.
1822	0 0 0	41,632

Par. Pap. No. 57 and 63 of session 1823; No. 218 of session 1822, and No. 490 of session 1821.

ports and exports in particular, it must be recollected are included the exports and imports to and from the Spanish part so lately annexed to the republic, and in the estimated value of the whole, freight and charges are also included. The trade of St. Domingo is certainly not above *one sixth* of what it formerly was, if so much. Of the present population I have seen no accurate accounts. It is estimated by several writers but evidently

The contrast which the trade of the United States with Cuba and Hayti affords, is very striking, thus:—

		Imports from	Exports to
1821	Cuba -	6,584,589 Dollars	4,540,680 Dollars.
..	Hayti -	2,746,257 ..	2,270,601 ..

of which the principal articles stand as under, viz.

		HAYTI.		CUBA.	
		Quantity.	Value. Dollars	Quantity.	Value. Dollars.
Sugar, white	*lbs.* -	—	—	20,601,672	2,926,963
.. brown	.. -	24,241	1,631	41,361,231	
Coffee	.. -	8,394,393	1,801,150	8,570,937	
Molasses	*gs.* -	13,024	1,694	6,190,894	
Indigo	*lbs.* -	322	690	1,822	
Spirits	*gs.* -	3,069	1,092	69,422	
Cocoa	*lbs.* -	181,938	15,981	—	

National Intelligencer, January 1822, and Official Report for the year ending September 30th, 1822.

The exports of Coffee from St. Domingo or Hayti will stand thus:—

To United States, 1822 - - - -	8,394,393 lbs.
Great Britain, 1822 - - - -	4,662,784
Germany and Holland, suppose	6,000,000
Total	19,057,177

instead of 68,000,000 lbs. as in 1791—what a falling off is here! The imports of Hayti are also not now *one fifth* what these formerly were!

from no sufficient *data,* at 500,000. This number is certainly exaggerated, particularly as we learn that the "open country contains only detached cottages at great intervals." On the other hand the destruction by the insurrection, as stated upon the authority of *Bourdon de L'Oise,* is probably exaggerated, and if we take the population of the French part of St. Domingo from 350,000 to 400,000, we shall probably not be far from the truth.

Of the present state of society in St. Domingo the following account extracted from a recent respectable periodical publication, is I have reason to know, an accurate portrait. The picture of the old negro man of 60 with an old wife and a young one, and two families all naked, is truly African. From this account we learn that the "negroes have as yet made little progress in civilization—the interior of their huts presents scarcely a single article of use—*no bed, nor table, nor even so much as a chair*"—that "the ceremony of marriage is but *little* attended to by the mulattoes, and by the blacks *not at all;*" while "*both* the Sugar and indigo plantations are permitted *to go to ruin.*"

"ST. DOMINGO, 1822.

"An interesting and evidently accurate account has just appeared from the pen of a gentleman, of the present situation of St. Domingo, a

considerable time resident in, and recently returned from that island*. "In this country," says the writer, "there is to be witnessed, countenances from the jettest black in all the gradations, until the distinction from a white is scarcely perceptible; and to be found, a people speaking a variety of languages: fugitives from Cuba, who can speak only a kind of Spanish jargon; from Jamaica, whose only language is a sort of broken English; emigrants from Curaçoa, talking Dutch; and the original blacks and mulattoes of the island, whose language is a sort of broken French. There are, besides, several white people settled in Hayti, natives of Europe and America, but who are not permitted to interfere in any government matters. Previous to the revolution, those of the mulattoes who possessed Slaves treated them with far more cruelty than the white planters; and from this cause, no doubt, has arisen the feeling of dislike on the part of the negroes to the mulattoes. The latter consider the negroes as their inferiors, and refrain from being on any familiar footing with them. The feelings of animosity that are at present observable amongst the blacks and mulattoes will be an obstacle to Hayti enjoying a lasting peace. At this moment the negroes would manage very ill without the assistance of the others. In general the negroes have as yet made little progress in civilization. The consequence is, all the principal offices under Boyer are managed by the mulattoes, from the incapacity of the blacks for such employment. It is in the army the negroes are found most useful.

The population of the towns consists principally of mulattoes. The houses are in general erected of wood; for the most part not higher than one story. The females have the charge of them, and not only attend to the sales, but almost invariably make the purchases themselves. Indeed so complete a cypher is the husband in their mercantile transactions, that his name is never mentioned in the wholesale merchants' books. I could never discover any ostensible employment the men had. They appeared to spend their time in listless indolence, consuming the greater part of the day in smoking segars. So intent are the Haytian fair on making money, that their passion for gain seems to overcome the tender feelings of the sex. This was strongly evinced in the conduct of a mother, who, being at some distance, when she heard of the dangerous illness of her daughter, she wrote, expressing her sorrow, but telling her that till she

* Edinburgh Magazine for December 1823, p. 126—138: extracted from the Journal of a gentleman who lately visited the island.

got her business accomplished, which would require some time, she could not return.

The negroes have lost none of their savage character, which, with the freedom enjoyed by the Haytians, under the republican form of government, renders them, in every respect, most disagreeable servants. It is not sufficient that these fellow's wages are exorbitant. Flattery must likewise be made use of to get them to work. To have any thing to do with them requires the greatest exercise of patience possible. The foreign merchant, however respectable his circumstances, has to cringe and behave with every submission to those black vagabonds. He is not permitted to use any compulsory measures. If he appears at all out of humour, he will only be laughed at; they delight in bringing to the remembrance of white people that they are no longer Slaves.

" Many of them have coffee plantations, and, from the high price which that article has for some time brought in the markets of Europe and America, they have acquired greater riches than they know what to do with. Some of them were pointed out to me who were said to possess many thousand pounds, but there appeared nothing indicative of such wealth. There are others of the negroes, however, who live in the rudest state possible. In general they have a few coffee-trees, but their exertions are seldom equal to produce them any comforts or luxuries. The interior of their huts presents scarcely a single article of use; *no bed, nor table, nor even so much as a chair.* In one of these miserable habitations which I entered, was seated, in one corner of the room, on a mat, a young female negro, about twenty years of age, WITH THREE INFANTS; and in another corner, a more elderly female, with a family more advanced. BOTH were the wives and families of the proprietor of the house, a negro apparently about SIXTY. The women wore nothing on their bodies except a *chemise*, made of coarse Osnaburgh. The younger of the two was suckling an infant, and two round apertures were made in the garment, through which the full breasts projected, and were entirely exposed. The husband had no clothing, with the exception of a pair of Osnaburgh trowsers, the upper part of his body being altogether naked. All the younger branches of the family were in a state of entire nakedness. This abode presented upon the whole such a spectacle of wretchedness, as to make me naturally conclude that, notwithstanding they enjoyed the freedom of their own will, yet, in point of comfort, their situation would not bear a comparison with that of any Slave in our plantations.

The manners of the better classes of the mulattoes and blacks partake

of the French. Even among the lower classes, it is not uncommon to observe two wretches, almost naked, salute each other after the French style. The meanest inhabitant of Hayti, considers himself upon a footing not only with his own countrymen, but with any stranger that may come in his way, whatever may be his rank, wealth, or information. The religion throughout the whole republic is Roman Catholic. It was, however, only lately that the head of that church took any notice of the blacks. While I was in Hayti, eleven priests and bishops arrived direct from Rome, to take charge of the church in that part of the world, and were received with the greatest respect by Boyer. He, however, has since had reason to believe, that those gentlemen were attempting to make some innovations in the government, and he has consequently obliged every one of them to leave the country. The religious affairs of the Haytians will therefore be managed as formerly, any person becoming their priest who sets up pretensions to that holy character. The office of the priest has, heretofore, been generally filled by adventurers from the Spanish Main, and has been a profession attended with no small emolument. The exactions of the priests from the ignorant blacks, were enormous. For giving absolution, their customary charge was one hundred dollars, and for attending a funeral twenty dollars.

Sunday is the GREAT MARKET DAY of the Haytians. On the morning of that day, crowds of country people are seen pouring into town, with baskets of their different commodities. The markets are over about nine A. M. at which time it is customary to go to church. I remarked that VERY FEW of the Haytian men attended the church. The churches, however, were always well crowded with women, who appeared to join very devoutly in the *devotions*. The men spend their time at home, and make this a day of feasting. I am inclined to believe, that the Haytians know but little of the pleasures of domestic life. The ceremony of marriage is but LITTLE attended to by the mulattoes, and by THE BLACKS not at all. They, in general, attach themselves to one female, but incontinency is no uncommon matter among them. Frequently, besides the person who passes for their wife, they have ONE OR TWO other mistresses. It will occasion surprise, no doubt, when I mention, that no Haytian female is permitted TO MARRY a white man. They are not, however, prevented from residing with foreigners, as their "FRIENDS;" and most of the foreign merchants resident in the Republic have formed such connections, principally with mulatto ladies. They are excellent managers of household matters, and give a preference to living with white people, both on

account of their being more KINDLY treated than with the men of their own colour, and because they are better supplied with dress, a passion for which, is a predominant feature in their character. The variety and elegance of their wardrobe will seldom be exceeded. It is no uncommon matter for a respectable coloured Haytian woman to possess upwards of an hundred Madras handkerchiefs, of different patterns, thirty or forty gowns, and other dresses in proportion. Their minds, however, are but poorly informed. In general they can read and write, but their reading is of the lightest nature, consisting chiefly of French plays and novels.

In the war which took place between the negroes and their masters, it was not to be expected that care could be taken of the fine plantations previously in the island. BOTH the Sugar and indigo plantations were permitted TO GO TO RUIN; and the ONLY REMAINS of the French *industry* in this delightful island are the COFFEE TREES, which now constitute the wealth of the Haytians. Coffee being now the only article cultivated by them to any extent, and the plantations of that article NOT having been INCREASED since the French lost their possessions in St. Domingo, the trade of the country has in consequence diminished. The yearly produce of Hayti is calculated to be thirty millions of lbs. of coffee, or about fifteen thousand tons, which, at a hundred pounds per ton, would only yield one million and a half sterling. The imports into the country should not exceed that sum, for coffee being the ONLY ARTICLE allowed to be exported in return, any increase upon the imports must occasion a loss to the parties concerned. The imports heretofore into Hayti, have always very greatly exceeded in value what the country had to export in return, and the natural consequence has been, that the trade has been a ruinous one for those concerned. From the competition that has in consequence arisen, credit has become very cheap, and the goods of the foreign merchant have frequently been put into the hands of those who were by no means entitled to credit. The outstanding debts due by this description of Haytians to the British adventurers amount to a very large sum, of which there is but little chance of their recovering any part. Twelve months is a customary credit in Hayti. I believe myself justified in asserting, that few or none engaged in the trade to the republic of the blacks have been successful in their adventures; on the contrary, that all of them are disgusted with the result. The trade to that part of the world, like every other which has opened to the enterprize of the British merchant, has been overdone.

No foreigner or white man can commence business in Hayti, without a patent from the government, for which he pays *sixteen hundred dollars annually*. The principal expense of their government is an allowance made to their President of fifty thousand dollars a-year. Their army, which amounts to about twenty-five thousand men, is but poorly paid. During the time the French were masters there, if a white and a mulatto went into a court of justice, the latter could seldom expect any redress. The reverse is now completely the order of things; and I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my opinion, that the white residents in Hayti are by no means to be envied. The frequent mortifications which they are subjected to, and the danger which they EVERY DAY RUN of being sacrificed by the fury of some RUFFIAN NEGRO, with the great want of society, of books, of EVERY THING that can make life agreeable, renders their situation not only unpleasant, but scarcely supportable for any length of time.

The funerals in that climate, even among the natives, are very frequent. Scarce a day that I was at Jacquemel but one of them took place, and sometimes more. The funeral forms a grand procession. The male and female attendants appear in full dress. The men are attired in black coats, and chintz or nankeen waistcoats and trowsers. The dresses of the women, by far the most numerous groupe, are composed of white muslin gowns, white silk stockings, white kid shoes, and yellow Madras handkerchiefs tied in the form of turbans round their heads. In one hand they carry a white muslin handkerchief, their neck is surrounded with a gold chain, their fingers covered with gold rings, &c. The funerals afford the ladies an opportunity of displaying their fine dresses, and they crowd to this parade as to a ball-room.

Boyer, the present president, was formerly a tailor. He owes his elevation to his wife, formerly the widow of Petion, whose favour he contrived to gain. Port-au-Prince is the most unhealthy town in the whole island of St. Domingo, and perhaps in the whole world. The society here is, however, better than in any of the other towns of the republic. There is, however, only one English lady in the whole town, who, with an Irish lady at Auxberges, form the sum total of our fair countrywomen whose fortunes have led them to the dominions of president Boyer."

"The character of the population of St. Domingo, says Mr. T——n, is THE WORST ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH. EVERY MORAL TIE OR FEELING IS UNKNOWN AMONG THEM. Instruction is little attended to, as the

open country contains only detached cottages at great intervals. In the towns there is some industry. In the country there is very little. There is no kind of exertion amongst the people, and the local authorities have no power to compell them to labour."

On the 15th January, 1821, *Mr. Evariste* the missionary in St. Domingo, thus writes:—"Every door is shut against us, and we are deprived in every possible way, of *liberty to act according to the Gospel*, or our own conscience, or the light of truth. This city is a burden to me, on account of the fearful and horrible things which I see, particularly the habitual and sinful violation of the sabbath. We are like sheep exposed to the fury of wolves. For me I am considered by them as one deprived of reason, a fool and enthusiast. The only thing which keeps me here is our dear society, which languishes like a tree planted by the side of a flaming volcano *." The difference between our West India Colonies and Hayti is strongly exemplified in the success of the methodists amongst the population of the respective places—*converts*—

	Whites.	Black & coloured.
British Colonies - -	907	23,763
Hayti - - - - -	—	56 †

* Methodist Missionary Report, 1821, p. 94.

† Methodist Conference, July, 1822.—Debate on Buxton's motion.—Published by African Institution.

To use the words of an able writer, Hayti is "not merely *relapsing into barbarism*, but sinking fast under an odious combination of the darkness, ferocity, vices, and superstitions of all colours and all nations; unredeemed by the virtues of any *."

Such is St. Domingo—such the state of her population, and such her commerce, trifling as it is *engrossed* and borne away by commercial rivals, in whose hands it must remain while St. Domingo remains as it is. Yet in the face of these notorious facts, *Mr. Stephen* in his new and most intemperate attack upon the West India Colonies, has the boldness to tell this intelligent nation that by the ruin of these Colonies "WE MIGHT REGAIN AND ENGROSS THE VALUABLE COMMERCE of *Hayti;* which, in complaisance to Jamaica, we have foolishly renounced †! !" Where Mr. Stephen received his commercial education I know not. Let him point out *if he can*, the period when this country possessed that trade which by making our West India Colonies like St. Domingo he asserts we could "*regain.*" And when he is called upon to do this he will find it as impossible to shew

* Official Letter from Bahamas, 29th July 1823, p. 25.

† Stephens' "*Negro Slavery.*" Preface page 32.

how this country " might engross" the trade of Hayti, as it is impossible for him to shew from any page of history—from any act of the British Government, that they " foolishly renounced the trade *(valuable!)* of Hayti in complaisance to Jamaica."

CHAPTER VIII.

Emancipation of the Negroes in Cayenne.—Fatal consequences to themselves and to the cultivation.—Both ruined.—The same consequences ensued in Gaudaloupe during the Rights of Man.—The same in Grenada.—Steele's scheme in Barbadoes a delusion and deception.—Natural and political causes occasioned the increased returns of his Estates.—Disbanded West India Black Soldiers—their bad Character.—Mr. Clarkson's singular Argument, that if we Emancipate our Colonial Slaves, the Slave Trade, and Slavery throughout the World, will be rooted out.

IN his enumeration of the benefits and advantages which African Slaves derived from emancipation, Mr. Clarkson has inadvertantly forgotten Cayenne. In 1799, the French Directory directed Victor Hugues to emancipate the Slaves in that colony. Their number then was about 11,000. Between 4000 and 5000 *only*, were persuaded to remain on the plantations, and work as hired labourers. But they worked only by fits and starts, and the planter had no security in their labour for taking off his crop. When any of them fell sick they

were left to live or die, as might happen; medical men, having no longer any security for payment for their labour and skill, left the colony. The majority became gamblers, (40 billiard tables were set up), drunkards, thieves, and robbers. A strong garrison, however, kept them in nominal subjection. At the end of two years the French Consular Government directed them to be reduced to their former servile state. Their number was mustered and found to be only 8,700, having decreased 2,300 in two years by their own profligacy. Such were the effects of sudden emancipation in Cayenne, without either convulsion or bloodshed.

The same disastrous results, were seen in the island of Grenada, during the period that rebellion was successful. All labour and cultivation were abandoned by the Slaves, who burnt down all the Sugar works, that they might not be called upon to labour any more. In Guadaloupe, also, under the sway of liberty and equality, and of Victor Hugues—the emancipated negroes relinquished labour and cultivation, and became idle, dissolute, and profligate, in the extreme;—a nest of robbers and pirates.

Leaving St. Domingo, and omitting Cayenne, Mr. Clarkson turns to the conduct and proceedings of Mr. Steele, the proprietor of an estate in

Barbadoes, called Kendal, one of the finest in the island. He went to Barbadoes at an advanced period of life, changed the whole system of management, and tasked the negroes, tried them by juries of each other, paid them so much for their work, made them what he called "*copyholders,*" by which he changed the whole face of affairs on his plantation. He got his land *holed* at one fourth the former expense, the negroes attended to their work, did not "*crowd to the sick-house as before,*" did treble work, raised enormous loads of provisions, produced immense savings; in short, the "*result*" of the plan "was highly satisfactory to himself." In a plantation of 300 negroes, though under an honest manager, there had been only 15 births, and 57 deaths in three years; whereas, under his system, in four years, there were 44 births and only 41 deaths, and "the net clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been 10 years before*."

Now all this statement is very plausible and very pleasing, but like many other statements it wants that most important ingredient truth. Upon reference to Mr. Steele's books in Barbadoes, those of his executor who continued his system, and the records of the Court of Chancery,

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts,*" page 38, 39.

in that island, it appears that at the commencement of his system in 1780, there were on that estate, 288 negroes, and at its close, 1797, only 240*, while the surrounding properties had a general natural increase. The crops diminished *above* one *fourth* the quantity produced under the usual mode of cultivating the cane, and managing the negroes. The expense of cultivation was accordingly diminished, and as the price of Sugar was double in the latter case, to what it was in the former, the returns in per centage, *may* have been for this reason increased, but not from the system established by Mr. Steele.

Mr. Steele's boasted "Copyhold System," completely failed; the negroes would not work the lands allotted to them, which Mr. Steele, in consequence resumed. At Mr. Steele's death, the negroes were found to be in a most wretched condition, from the effects of hard labour and disease, brought on by debauchery, and in short, there is not a man in Barbadoes acquainted with Mr. Steele and his mode of management, but declares that his system was the worst, the most odious and tyrannical that could possibly be devised. I have seen various documents from Barbadoes attesting this fact, and as "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," have

* Letter from Mr. Haynes to Mr. Gladstone.

an estate in the neighbourhood of that which belonged to Mr. Steele, the respectable gentleman who had charge of their estate will, I have no doubt if applied to, confirm the truth of what is here stated.

After his death, in 1797, Mr. Steele's estate (he had managed it seventeen years) was so much involved, that a sale became necessary, and, after paying off the incumbrances, but a small sum remained *.

Little trouble however is necessary to place in a correct point of view, the whole secret of the greater returns made by *Mr. Steele's* estate for *four years* after 1780 than before it. Natural and political causes occasioned it, even in the face of his injudicious experiments. For several years previous to 1780, most of the Windward Islands, and in a more particular manner Barbadoes, were desolated by that insect so destructive to the cane, called the "*Borer,*" but more

* Just as this sheet was putting to the press, a friend put into my hands a letter from Mr. Henry Sealy, who lived for eleven years in the neighbourhood of Mr. Steele's estate, and who, during all that time, witnessed the operation of the copyhold system. His account corroborates fully all I had heard from other quarters, and states most decidedly, that the copyhold system was most oppressive and injurious, and that the Slaves rejoiced when a change took place. Mr. S. was one of those gentlemen who were called to appraise Mr. Steele's estate and negroes after his death, and he says, that he never witnessed a more "defective gang of Slaves," ruined by bad management; *the estate was always out of order, and always backward.*

especially by the ravages of the "CANE ANTS." The latter destructive vermin, (never before nor since seen in the West Indies,) literally covered the face of the earth, and consumed every green thing. If they came to a river they chose a still part of the stream, and marched forward in ranks till the dead formed a bridge for the living to pass over. When they perceived a fire they rushed into it from all sides, till they extinguished it by the number of their dead. In riding along a road every footstep of the horse was distinctly marked amidst the swarms crushed to death. They made their nests under the roots of shrubs, hedges, plants, and more especially the roots of the canes, and consequently cut off the nourishment which should have supplied the plant. The destruction of crops and of all country provisions were the results; and hence, with little or no return of produce, a heavy expense became necessary to feed the negroes with imported provisions.

The tremendous hurricane of 1780 took place. —One physical evil removed another.—It tore up every plant and tree by the roots, poured an irresistible deluge into the recesses where the ants had formed their abodes, drowned and swept them all away. They disappeared from that terrible day. After this event, the land

which had for years remained in some measure fallow, produced most abundant crops; whilst the value of produce from Barbadoes became greatly enhanced from the capture of so many of our islands by the French, during the latter years of the American war *. The destruction of St. Domingo in 1791, raised the price of Sugar still higher, and the introduction in 1794, of the Bourbon, or rather Otaheite cane into the Colonies tended during 1796 and 1797, almost to double the crops in the Windward Islands; the crop of which years was taken off and shipped before Mr. Steele's death, which took place in the end of October 1797.

Mr. Clarkson may not know these facts, or he may find it convenient to pass them over. Still they are not the less true, and are to me quite sufficient to account for the increase of revenue from Mr. Steele's estate subsequent to 1780, and not only so, but I am convinced had the management been judicious, under Mr. Steele's authority, the returns, under all these circumstances, ought to have been a great deal more.

Having considered and settled every thing in

* About 60,000 hogsheads sugar annually, were thus kept back from the British market. During three years, the Island of Grenada, for instance shipped little of its crops; these lay on hand, piled up in the curing houses, and, after the peace of 1783, were poured into the British market.

his own way, and to his own mind, Mr. Clarkson comes to the decision "that emancipation is practicable, without danger, for," says he, "I have not been able to discover (and it is most remarkable) a single failure in any of the cases which have been produced*." The result is directly and *in toto* the reverse. To the instances already adduced, I add the following, from the Bahama official report:—"The disbanded black soldiers, that have occasionally found their way to these islands," says that report, "have uniformly been *the veriest vagrants in existence*, and the terror of all around them. Of the last, two that found the means of living here for any length of time, one was hanged 18 months ago for burglary, and the other saved his neck only, by turning king's evidence, against his companion: a precious specimen of those corps, the dissolution of which, Mr. Wilberforce (Appeal, p. 67) so deeply regrets†."

There are but two points more, in the pamphlet of Mr. Clarkson, on which it is necessary to animadvert. The first, (and this is the point at which he is all along driving,)—there is, he observes, another consideration, worthy the attention of the abolitionists, viz: that a public at-

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts.*"

† Official Letter from Bahamas, p. 18.

tempt made in England to procure the abolition of Slavery, would very much promote their original object, the cause of the abolition of the Slave trade; for foreign courts, have greatly doubted our sincerity, as to the latter measure; and have, therefore, been very backward in giving us their assistance in it. "If England," say they, "abolished the Slave trade from moral motives, how happens it she continues Slavery?" The simple answer of England to such a question would be, do you as much as I have done, and then we will confer upon what ought further to be done. But because foreign nations continue the Slave trade, are we to ruin our colonies altogether, in order to take the chance of our enemies, and rivals, relinquishing that trade? Our proceedings in this business, are sufficiently wild and dangerous already. We need not, by adopting the proceeding here recommended, render ourselves the laughing stock of the world.

Secondly, we are told, that "if Slavery was to fall in the British islands, this event would occasion its death in a given time, and without striking any further blow, the execrable trade would cease in every quarter of the world." Our abolition extended and aggravated the trade. The ruin of our colonies will raise into

greater prosperity the colonies of rival powers. Does Mr. Clarkson really believe, that to sink our West India Colonies, in the ocean, would abolish Slavery in the United States of America, in India, in the other nations of Asia, or remove the evil, from Africa? Mr. Clarkson is not so weak or so ignorant, as to believe any such thing.

CHAPTER IX.

Daring calumnies of the Abolition Society and their writers.—The Rev. Mr. Cooper's statements—his conduct and proceedings examined and exposed.—Mr. John Meabry's hideous charges refuted upon oath.—Affidavit, Mr. Robertson, Jamaica, on this head—important.—Shameless and dangerous system of ESPIONAGE *carried on by the African Institution against the West India Colonies.—Dangerous proceedings of their spies and informers—attended with the most ruinous consequences, &c.*

LEAVING Mr. Clarkson, I turn to that scandalous publication, "Thoughts on Negroe Slavery," &c.; which forms the text-book for an article in the first number of the Edinburgh Review, alluded to (No. 75). It is scarcely possible, and is indeed unnecessary to follow the "*licentious*" author through all his tortuous paths and misrepresentations. His fabric is built with materials supplied by two worthies, viz. the *Rev. Thomas Cooper*, and a Mr. I. M., whose initials, before I conclude, I shall be able to decypher.

Mr. Cooper shall come first. From the narrative put forward by the African Institution in his name, we learn that he was sent out by Mr. Thoma Hibbert to his estate, Georgia, in the Parish of Hanover, Jamaica, to bestow religious instruction upon his Slaves. Mr. Cooper was authorized to adopt his own plans—he was made quite independent of the other white people connected with the Slaves—he reached the estate on Christmas-day 1817, and with his wife remained there three years, when he quitted the island and returned to England, considering it useless "to consume his time" in attempting to bestow "religious instruction" upon the "Slaves who had no time to attend to him," and to whom he could only "preach twelve times a year."

"Mr. Hibbert" says the publication in question, "was at the entire expense of Mr. Cooper's mission, and spared no outlay which he thought likely to contribute to the comfort of his Slaves. There were about 400 attached to the estate. By Mr. Hibbert's orders the crop of the estate had been reduced from 400 hhds. to 300 hhds. that the labour might be rendered easy to the negroes. The law allowed one day out of crop each fortnight exclusive of Sunday, to the Slaves for cultivating their grounds," but "the proprietor of Georgia was more liberal than the law. The Slaves were allowed for this purpose (and other proprietors Mr. Cooper thinks may have been equally liberal) every Saturday out of crop." Not withstanding this, their time for religious instruction was found insufficient, and "accordingly it was agreed that, out of crop an afternoon every fortnight should be allowed for religious worship and instruction."

"There is no regular marriage instituted amongst the Slaves—the women will say they would not be such fools as be confined to one man. The greatest villain in a moral point of view, may be and sometimes is, the

most valuable Slave." In inflicting punishment the master or overseer "has no written rules to guide his conduct—in point of fact, Mr. Cooper *believes* that the limitation of the number of lashes to thirty-nine is practically disregarded. Sunday was the only day which was allowed to the Slaves, DURING CROP, for cultivating and keeping in order their provision grounds. Sunday is the only market day. The state of morals and religion is as bad as can well be imagined, both among whites and blacks. The *regular church service* was not at all adapted to the blacks. The curates and rectors said they were of no use to the Slaves as instructors. Female children at an early age are made the mere instruments of licentious gratification. When visitors stay all night on an estate, they are accustomed, on going to bed, to desire the domestic who attends them TO BRING THEM A GIRL, with almost as little ceremony as they would ask for a candle, &c*."

To quote more is unnecessary—these are the leading charges and statements upon which all their reasoning, and arguments, and schemes are grounded, and a more hideous system of misrepresentation and calumny was never before thrust forward to mislead a moral and religious community. The first point necessary to be ascertained is the veracity of the man who makes such statements. Fortunately Mr. Cooper has enabled us, and from his own lips, to determine that his testimony is not worth a straw—a particle of dust in the balance in this case. He has told us that "*the greatest villain in a moral respect, may be, and is sometimes, the most valuable Slave*" —the assertion is untrue. It is impossible, nor will any man who is not fit for Bedlam credit

* Negro Slavery, pages 36—54.

the tale. The immoral Slave is always the worst; he soon becomes a burden to his master and to himself—his vices soon cut short his days. Mr. Cooper in page 48 tells us that the white master in inflicting punishment "has no written rules to guide his conduct;" while in the previous page (47) he tells us the black drivers by the Slave Act are "limited to ten stripes." The same law regulates the power both of blacks and whites. Mr. Cooper's prolific imagination however, does not stop here, but takes a bolder flight, to make his ignorance or malevolence more conspicuous. He tells us that Sunday is the only day DURING CROP allowed to the Slaves "*for cultivating and keeping in order their provision grounds**." Unless the laws of nature are of late reversed within the torrid zone, what Mr. Cooper states is physically impossible. Crop time extends from December till May. The *dry season* during that period renders cultivation impossible or totally useless. Mr. Cooper may as well tell us that the British farmer cultivated his lands in winter instead of summer. The two cases are undeniably similar, and knowing this we ascertain that Mr. Cooper knows little of Jamaica; and if the great and grand operations in the physical world either escaped

* Negro Slavery, p. 38.

his observation, or are misrepresented by him it shews that his assertions on points which he was less likely to see so constantly and so openly, are not worth attending to in any one instance.

His direct charges of universal and undisguised immorality—carelessness about religion —and the total absence of marriage amongst the negroes; these points will more appropriately be answered when these heads come under consideration, as included in the *appeal of the abolition committee* to the people of this country. Here it may suffice to state, that the charge of immorality amongst the whites, is generally speaking, untrue, or Mr. Cooper must have kept company with a different set of beings from those that ever any one but himself met in the West Indies. The stories were no doubt fabricated and imagined, or conjured up in England, where he accounts himself safe from the indignation of a deeply insulted people.

Having considered Mr. Cooper's statement, it is now time to turn to other authorities. Mr. Cooper was indeed sent to Jamaica in the independent situation, and under all the favourable circumstances stated. He staid three years. He returned to Britain having done nothing to forward the object of his mission, and in addition to the story of the negroes, having no

time to receive religious instruction, he spreads, after his arrival, through the medium of the African Institution, a variety of tales, of cruelties and abuses witnessed by himself in Jamaica, particularly on Mr. Hibbert's estate. Now mark the conduct of the Rev. Thomas Cooper. Did he ever lay those tales before the local authorities in Jamaica? No! Did he lay them before His Grace the Duke of Manchester, the governor? No! Did he during the three years he resided on Georgia, or after he arrived in England, when he visited and conversed with and was questioned by Mr. Hibbert about his estate and his Slaves, ever complain to him of their want of time to receive instruction, or relate any of the cruelties he circulated! No? Did he ever lay those charges before His Majesty's government? No! "Nursing his wrath to keep it warm," he comes to England, lays them before the African Institution, and the first intimation which Mr. Hibbert received on Mr. Cooper's authority, that his Slaves were ill treated, was about the time when Mr. Buxton's motion was announced. Immediate steps were taken to send these charges out to Jamaica. Satisfactory refutations are already arrived, and Mr. Cooper's statements will be met with victorious contradictions.

To a man who could act such a disingenuous part, it is evident no credit is due. Nor is there a reasonable being not within the atmosphere of the African Institution, who can believe, for a moment, that the excellent master, who, at such an expense, sent a religious pastor to his Slaves—a master who "was more liberal than the law"—who reduced his crops one-fourth part for their ease, and who allowed them half-a-day each fortnight for religious instruction, during seven months in the year, over and above Sundays, and the other time allotted to the cultivation of their grounds, would have refused them sufficient time to receive religious instruction? The thing is an absurdity even to imagine. Besides, where, let me ask Mr. Cooper, is it that the peasantry and labourers of any country have so much time to devote to religious duties as Mr. Hibbert's Slaves had, even according to Mr. Cooper's shewing?

The people of Jamaica should know something of these matters; and their account, published in the Royal Gazette* and other papers, is to the following purport:—

"Mr. Cooper had a most liberal establishment on Georgia estate. Five or six domestics were appointed to attend upon him and Mrs.

* Jamaica Royal Gazette, July 26th.

Cooper. Every facility was given to his mission. The negroes on the estate, or the greater part of them, attended his first, second, and third lecture; but Mr. Cooper teaching the negroes that "JESUS CHRIST *was a very* GOOD MAN, *and a good preacher;* but that HE WAS NOT THE SON OF GOD, OR OUR SAVIOUR," a doctrine which they were never taught before, they refused any longer to attend him. His application to the manager to compel them to do so by flogging them was resisted. Unacquainted with the nature of negroes, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, like every newly-arrived European, took up, seriously, every trifling fault, and sent their domestics to the overseer to be punished; and this was repeated so often, that the overseer refused to do so without inquiry into the offence, which, when he did inquire into, he generally found frivolous. Those who wish to be informed of the example of morality set by Mr. Cooper and his family, may consult the journal referred to, and Mr. Cooper may tell, if he chuses, what took place at the overseer's table on the day he preached his farewell sermon; and if he does not explain what his "peculiar views" on religious subjects are, they will be *explained* for him, upon evidence furnished by himself.—At a gentleman's table he ventured to broach his Unitarian prin-

ciples, but the reception he met with, convinced him that there *were* some persons who entertained a serious regard for religion in Jamaica. His religious principles, says the journal in question, " were too dangerous to be broached in private company; and he had no more faith in Christianity than Tom Paine, or a Jewish Rabbi."

Such is Mr. Cooper, and such his veracity! There is but one point more which I shall notice, to shew the absurdity of attending to such authority. Just as he was leaving the island, and going on board the vessel in company with the captain, they saw, on the streets of Lucea, an old man who appeared to have been recently flogged, his posteriors bleeding, and exciting no attention. There can be no doubt (and I have been so informed) that this man so standing and so seen in the public streets, was a negro, who had been punished by order of the magistrates; and to raise a cry of lamentation and horror on that account, is just as fair and proper, as for any stranger or person here to do so upon their happening to see a culprit in a similar state after a public whipping. I notice this merely to shew the kind of stuff with which the accusations of cruelty against our Colonists are made up, and being obliged to have re-

course to such as these (which are even touched with fear) shews that they are destitute of any other*.

In support of his *vile* system, the "Author of Negro Slavery, &c." produces "the evidence of Mr. J— M—," who, we are told, and very probably truly, "is the son of a respectable tradesman in London, who, wishing to do something for himself, went out to be a book-keeper on Bushy Park estate, St. Dorothy's, Jamaica, early in January 1822." The abolition committee give his "*oral*" testimony thus:

EVIDENCE OF MR. J—— M——.

J. M. is the son of a respectable tradesman in London, who, wishing to do something for himself, went out about the beginning of the last year, 1822, to the island of Jamaica, to be a book-keeper on Bushy Park estate, in the parish of St. Dorothy's, a large estate, belonging to a wealthy and liberal proprietor, and which has the reputation of being managed as well or rather better than usual†. He had no complaint whatever to make against the

* And here it is with some regret I take leave of the Reverend Mr. Cooper, without a full exposure of his "PECULIAR views" of religion, his double and deceitful conduct, his praise of the treatment of Slaves in Jamaica while there, and his gloomy accounts of their treatment as made in Britain, and lastly, his bitter attack upon a worthy and respectable religious class of men, who have done much good in our Colonies. Though I could state the facts to which I allude, from Mr. Cooper's own correspondence, yet, I find that by doing so I should (though without any just foundation) give Mr. Cooper and his supporters cause to carp at the conduct of a highly respectable gentleman already engaged in a correspondence on this subject with Mr. Cooper: but the day of exposure will come, and sufficiently early for Mr. Cooper.

† New Hall estate also belongs to him.

owner, attorney, or overseer, for any harsh or unkind treatment of himself; but the state of things he found there was so grating to his feelings, that he could not have remained, even though HIS HEALTH had been quite unaffected, which, however, WAS NOT THE CASE; and after a FEW WEEKS' residence on the estate, he resolved to return to England, in which he met with no opposition. His statement is as follows:—

"The Slaves on the estate were constantly attended by drivers with cart or cattle whips, which they were in the habit of using as here carmen use their whips on horses; and occasionally one or more Slaves were ordered out of the line of work, laid prostrate on the ground, and received a few lashes (from two to three, or ten) on their posteriors, for no other offence that he could perceive or ever heard of, but that of being indolent, or lagging at their work, or being late. He saw a few working with iron collars round their necks, connected with each other by a chain; a punishment which, he understood, was usually inflicted for running away, and continued sometimes for several weeks. The huts of the Slaves were very indifferent, and almost destitute of furniture. On Sunday they either attended market, or worked in their own grounds; but none went, or were expected to go, to any church or place of worship; nor did he ever see or hear of any instruction, religious or otherwise, being bestowed upon them. Many of the Slaves had women living with them as their wives; but as for marriage being used, either as a means of civilization, or for any other purpose, he never even heard the word mentioned as it respected them. He understood that the white servants were not allowed to take those women who so lived with particular men; but as for any others, they not only chose and took such as pleased them, but they were expected to do it as a matter of course. Accordingly, he was INVITED BY THE OVERSEER to follow the general practice, the very first day he arrived on the estate. In a SPARE HOUSE, kept for the occasional use of persons coming thither for a few days, were WOMEN, whom he understood to be at the SERVICE OF WHOEVER CAME TO OCCUPY THE APARTMENTS, and two of them were spoken of as the children of a former proprietor.

"But little provisions appeared to him to be given to the Slaves. Herrings and such fish, rather as sauce than as food, were given them. But they had grounds allotted them, and the Sunday, throughout the year, for their cultivation, with every or every other Saturday, out of crop-time (the practice on this head differing) and while strong and in good health, this he thought might do very well. But in crop-time (on some

estates nearly half the year) they could have very little leisure or inclination to work for themselves, being often greatly fatigued by extra night-work and watching. He understood that, by the law of Jamaica, only thirty-nine lashes could be given at once; but he was told, on the spot, that an overseer could easily, when so disposed, evade it."

The charges here brought forward, reached Jamaica in course, and the following affidavit, from the persons so foully slandered has been published and sent home to Britain to meet and repel these scandalous and false accusations.

AFFIDAVIT.*

Jamaica, ss.—St. Dorothy.

William Robertson, of the parish of St. Dorothy, planter, overseer of Bushy Park estate, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith—that he hath read, in a printed pamphlet, brought by the last packet, a statement of occurrences on said estate, said to be grounded on the information of one John Meabry—deponent saith he was overseer on said estate when said Meabry came there last year—THAT MEABRY WAS THERE FROM FOURTEEN TO EIGHTEEN DAYS, and was incapable, in mind and opportunity, of acquiring any knowledge of the concerns of the estate, which any one of a candid disposition would receive as evidence. In verification whereof, deponent saith, that Meabry was almost unceasingly in tears, and under the utmost dejection of mind, in so much that he took to bed and confined himself a great part of the time—that when he walked out it was usually about the works, towards the mansion or great house, and never towards the fields where the negroes were at work; except, as deponent has just heard, one afternoon he walked there, when no circumstance he relates occurred, but came back immediately, as the book-keeper with whom he went informed deponent. That Meabry never was employed in any way on the estate, nor is his name entered in any book—he was wholly incapable of service, and was merely entertained, and that in the most HOSPITABLE AND ENCOURAGING manner, until he should re-embark—that Meabry's dejection appeared so inveterate and extraordinary as to excite deponent's suspicion, if it proceeded from filial affection only—

* See St. Jago de La Vigo, and Jamaica Royal Gazette, Aug. 30th 1823.

that when his bed-linen was to be changed, deponent caused it to be examined, AND DISCOVERED THAT HE LABOURED UNDER A SEVERE LUES—that Meabry then, and not before, submitted to medical remedies, administered by Dr. Inchbald, who resided in the house, but is since dead—that Meabry, as deponent has since heard, TOOK MEDICINE FOR THAT COMPLAINT ON HIS PASSAGE OUT!

In refutation of the statement of the pamphlet, deponent saith—the whip is carried by the drivers as a badge of office, and its main use is for orders, as a drum amongst the soldiers, or a whistle among sailors—it is smacked to direct the hour of rising, and resumption of labour after meals. In the evening, when the negroes are housed, it draws attention to orders for the work of next day, of which the driver of each gang is the organ, it is sounded occasionally at night, to ascertain if the watchmen are attentive; each of whom understands the call appropriate to himself, and is expected to answer. As an instrument of correction, it is strictly prohibited on Bushy Park, except in the presence, and by orders of the overseer. No driver would presume to use it on the gang at work—no instance of it is known to deponent—the negroes are too well acquainted with their rights not to complain of such a violence—they complain freely of every thing which displeases them. The only latitude allowed a driver in the field is flagellation by birches, seldom used for any other fault than late appearance at work, and then only for a great frequency of that fault.—Therefore, deponent most positively asserts, that J. Meabry is guilty of a gross falsehood in stating that on Bushy Park the negroes are driven to work by a cart whip, as a carman drives horses—and that they are occasionally ordered out of the line of work, laid prostrate, and flogged by the driver with his whip.

What Meabry saw were collars of iron-hoop and chain, smaller than used in workhouses. The negroes he saw were Dublin, attached to Phœnix Park Pen, in St. Ann; Captain, to Newhall, in St. Thomas in Vale, both properties of Mr. Mitchell; and Henry, to St. Jago estate, in Clarendon, for which Mr. Mitchell is trustee. Deponent found them in such confinement on coming to Bushy Park. They had run away from the different properties, and were brought to Bushy Park, from workhouses, for transmission to their homes; the confinement was only such as the law authorized for securing runaways. Deponent took their promises of amendment, and released them. Dublin ran away the next day. The negroes of Newhall sent to entreat that Captain might not be sent back to that estate, as he plundered them, and was every way obnoxious

—and Henry plainly declared, if sent to St. Jago, he would run away. The two latter are now at large on Bushy Park.

Deponent solemnly declares, that all the time Meabry was at Bushy Park, no other Slave was so confined, nor could he have heard it was customary there, for deponent further declares, no such punishment is or has been, during his management, nor that of any of his predecessors, that he has heard of, practised at Bushy Park, so that Meabry's assertion in respect of such punishment is absolutely false.

There are two distinct sets of negro houses on Bushy Park, distinguished by the negroes, as the towns of Kingston and Port Royal; each surrounded by a substantial ring fence to preserve their pigs, poultry, &c. every family, or party, again incloses a space for separate use, by stockadoes or otherwise; these are considered sacred—the industrious, and respectable, build and accommodate themselves as they please, and to unlimited extent; they have kitchens, ovens, tombs of brick work, venetian windows, entertain company, and have four-post beds as good as many white persons. The poorer sort, or less industrious, are helped whenever they ask for repairs to their houses: an elderly mason has no other work to do; they require little furniture, but may have it to any extent their industry affords, and some vie with white people in their accommodations.

Bushy Park is three miles from the parish church: deponent is a pretty regular attendant, and exhorts the white people and negroes to attend. When the negroes complain of drought and other calamities, deponent takes the opportunity of impressing on their minds, that it is owing to their neglect of religion. On the three great Christmas days, great numbers of the Slaves of Bushy Park attend the church—at other times the leading characters only attend, but it is left to their choice; it is not forced on them. Deponent believes some of them occasionally go to the Spanish-Town church. In this Meabry cannot be taken for a witness, he was only two or three Sundays on the estate, and then sick, and childish, he did not go near the church.

Deponent does deny most solemnly, that it is a matter of course, or a permitted thing, that the whites may connect themselves with the female Slaves who have no other connections, or may select them as they choose —such licentiousness is as little tolerated by deponent, as by any father of a family in London; no doubt it exists in Bushy Park, but deponent saw none of it, and should feel it a duty to reprobate it; and it is known as a rule of the house deponent occupies, where Meabry was entertained,

as are some other of the book-keepers, and the medical attendant, that punishment will surely follow the detection of any female coming to the house for such purpose. On his oath, deponent declares Meabry's assertion, that deponent invited him to do as others in that respect, is grossly false. Is it creditable that any one aiming at public esteem could so solicit a total stranger—a poor dispirited puling creature, with his handkerchief always at his eyes, and with a deep-seated foul disease? Deponent is positive that even jocosely he never used to Meabry any expression of the tendency so falsely asserted.

SPARE HOUSE.—Meabry can mean no other than the mansion, or what is called the great house; towards this he usually walked early in the morning, in company with the book-keeper in charge of the stock-yard there situated.

This house is untenanted almost the whole year, and never occupied by any soul except the planting attorney, who may come there occasionally for half a day—seldom to sleep: Mr. M'Lean, a married man, now and then takes a bed; Mr. J. Mitchell usually went to his own house; except also very rarely his GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, on a journey; Mr. and Mrs. Smith and family, for a week or ten days, twice or thrice a year, and such of Mr. M.'s friends as came introduced by a note, almost always by Mr. Smith, when such friends were travelling, or were about to embark at Old Harbour. At the time Meabry was on the estate in 1822, Mr. Smith escorted LORD WILLIAM MONTAGUE to Bushy Park to dine and sleep, previous to embarkation next morning in the John Shand; Mr. J. Mitchell and Mr. Hewitt, a family man, were of the party. MR. HALL, late Advocate-General, now on his voyage home, was THERE WITH HIS FAMILY THREE OR FOUR DAYS last month, he may be referred to for what he knows, has heard or seen, of the place or people. The house is opened and aired in the forenoon and locked up in the afternoon, every one going away from it, the attendants having their own houses at some distance. The attendants are a very old negress, as superior, two drudges to clean the house, and a young child about ten years old. Deponent denies most positively that the mansion of any other spare house, or any pen on Bushy Park is allotted to the BASE AND SCANDALOUS PURPOSE ASSERTED BY MEABRY, with a malice the more apparent from the impossibility under his circumstances, of obtaining sufficient information; and the more abhorrent for stigmatising the characters of those who occasionally use the mansion.

Meabry's readiness to do the work he has been put to, has betrayed him

into his further palpable falsehood, that two of the females retained for impure purposes at " the spare house," are daughters of a former proprietor. The proprietor preceding Mr. Mitchell has been dead 30 or 40 years, and a very old man, so that his daughters can scarcely have many attractions. The assertion is as false as the rest of his story.

The negroes on Bushy Park have, at least, 400 acres of good land for provision grounds, and a great part of it situated on the fertile bank of a river, which yields provisions in the driest seasons; they abound in potatoes, casava, beans, peas, of various sorts, guinea corn, great corn, yams, pines, and various other roots, besides plantains, bananas, all of which they dispose of when and where they like, they also abound with fowls, hogs, and goats. In 1822, their crop of corn was so abundant, that, independent of their regular days, deponent gave them extra days, and lent them five or six carts with cattle, upon their own time, whenever they chose to apply for them, to assist them in their corn, and they have a cart and mule continually to carry their corn to market. Numbers of them, in the course of the season, will dispose of some 10 bushels of corn, some 20, some 30 to 50, at 13*s.* 4*d.* per bushel, and a good many of the industrious ones will dispose of four, six, or twelve hogs, mostly at £5..6..8 a head, besides immense quantities of poultry, eggs, and other provisions; and, independent of all this, they are weekly served with as good herrings as the mother country can produce, and corn whenever they apply for it; there are 360 acres of guinea corn put in annually for their support, as a general concern, besides what they have of their own; no negro knows what want is; a cauldron is daily boiled of nutritious articles for the adult invalids of the hot-house, and another for 50 children and upwards, whose mothers choose to partake of it for their use.

(Signed) WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

The only two book-keepers remaining on Bushy Park of those who were there when Meabry came, pointedly corroborate Mr. Robertson's statement; they support his testimony as to the use of the whip, as to three negroes who had iron collars, as to their abundant supply of provisions, as to the decency observed in his house in regard to females, which they aver to be as great as in a private family; and as to the ease and comfort prevailing in the negro houses, they swear, in very many houses the negroes have four-posted bed-steads, chairs, tables, sideboards, looking-glasses, glass-ware, ovens, and outhouses, superior, to their knowledge, to the poorer classes in Great Britain; they add circumstances not likely to come to Mr. Robertson's knowledge, owing to Meabry's age and con-

dition, more on a par with their's, and arising from familiar intercourse; they say that Meabry stated himself to be SEVENTEEN YEARS OF AGE; THAT HE WAS AFFLICTED WITH A LOATHSOME DISEASE; that he was of a puny, puerile disposition, always crying, alarmed at the climate, craving to return, saying that if he died it would kill "HIS MAMMY," which rendered him the object of ridicule; they say his abhorrence of the negroes induced him to refuse any sort of attention from them, was always in dread of them, and they give two instances of this disposition; one evening, and the only time he went to the field, by way of a walk, the driver smacked his whip as a call to the negroes for some particular duty; some of the negroes began to run, which so frightened Meabry that he returned home in the greatest haste. The other occasion was, when the negroes were served with cloth, &c. there happened to fall a shower of rain, the negroes, with their articles under their arms, made a rush into the book-keeper's house for shelter, Meabry was in the piazza, and was overcome by fear, rushed into one of the book-keepers' rooms, and supplicated, in terms of the utmost distress, their protection against the negroes; from his hatred to the negroes, they are assured, he never was inside of any of their houses; and that, when he says that their houses are unfurnished, he must have taken his notion from their out-offices or watchmen's huts; they express the utmost surprise and abhorrence at the gross falsehoods of a separate house for base purposes; they say, that no house can be meant but the "mansion," and bear positive testimony that nobody used it but those alluded to by Mr. Robertson. One of the deponents says, that he had the care of the stock-yard appropriated for the mansion, and one morning Meabry accompanied him to this stock-yard; that in passing the mansion Meabry said he should like to see the inside of Mr. Mitchell's house, before he went away. Deponent said he would procure him that indulgence; carried him to the house, solicited leave of the old negro woman who keeps it to go over it, which was granted. There was nobody in the house but the old woman and two drudges, allotted for keeping it; *these negroes*, consequently could not be daughters of a former proprietor, a white person, whom they believe to have been dead, as an *old person* 30 or 40 years ago; and which was the only occasion afforded to Meabry during his short residence, to see that house or who was in it *."

* Shameless, disgusting, and indecent as this story from J. M. is, those promulgated upon the authority of the Rev. Mr. COOPER, and numerous anonymous libellers, are infinitely more immodest, indecent, disgusting, and *equally false*.

From the following extracts it would appear, that Mr. Meabry continues his system of *espionage*, or the laudable employment of "*endeavouring to do something for himself*". The best way for him to have obtained accurate information concerning Slavery, would have been to have stopped a little longer in Jamaica. That Mr. Meabry should pursue such a course as he is

Why, I indignantly ask, are the eyes, the ears, and the dwellings of the people of this generous and intelligent nation to be polluted and insulted by such cruel libels against whole communities of our fellow-subjects; and why, I repeat, are such foul abominations scattered profusely into every dwelling—into the hands and houses of half the virtuous families—females in this kingdom, and by men who, at the same moment, are busily employed in proclaiming their superior purity? I presume we shall next have the licentiousness of the bagnios of the metropolis—the purlieus of the Strand, or the piazzas of Covent Garden, &c. printed and circulated amongst our countrywomen to improve their minds, enlarge their ideas, and purify and soften their hearts. We may with more justice have these things circulated than the libels we have mentioned, inasmuch as these are true, the other not true; as to have it circulated and distributed upon the authority of the Rev. Mr. Cooper, that the black "women in Jamaica will say they would not be such fools as to be confined to one man." That *experience* may have taught him so—that some of them, many of them might tell him so, is probable, but that all, or a majority of them did so, I disbelieve, and the general and sweeping assertion here made by Mr. Cooper, convinces me how little he understood or inquired into the negro character.

"It is a shame," says the Apostle Paul, "even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret." Not so with us, echoes the African Institution, it is our glory and our boast to speak of these things, to dwell upon them, to circulate them, comment upon them—exaggerate—INVENT. The labour affords us peculiar delight, and tends to open the eyes of the young and rising generation, and to give them full knowledge of good and evil.

doing, is probably not surprising; but for a Member of the British legislature, who could at any time call upon his Majesty's government to furnish him with accurate information, on all points regarding the West Indies—for him to be found seeking information through such a channel, is strange indeed.

Extracted from the "Jamaica Courant," of 2d Dec. 1823.

St. Jago de la Vego, November 22d.

Our readers will recollect the affidavit of Mr. Robertson, which we laid before them some time ago, concerning the character and description of the man Meabry, who furnished the saints with such false and ungrateful evidence regarding Bushy Park estate, and on which the charges in a late pamphlet against these Colonies were principally founded. We have lately seen two letters from him to a young man in this parish, with whom he became acquainted, by which it appears that he is still busying himself to injure those who treated him so well; and we have copied the following two passages, as affording proof from himself, of his ingratitude, and of his present designs, and exposing the name of the saint who extracted the calumnies from him, to wit—Mr. Smith, M.P. from whom it appears he has some expectations, as a reward, we presume, for becoming a wholesale liar.

"*London, Dec. 25th* 1822.

"I often think of Bushy Park and the way in which I was treated by Mr. Robertson; Mr. John Mitchell also treated me very kindly, which I shall ever remember with gratitude."

"*August 4th* 1823.

"If you can give me any information on Slavery, you will very much oblige me, and you may depend on its being kept sacred. No doubt there has been a great deal of talk about the evidence I gave Mr. Smith, M.P. and should like very much to have your candid opinion on the subject. I shall also like to know how all the gentlemen are on Bushy Park estate."

Such are the sources and the characters from

which the enemies of the Colonies obtain their information, and such the daring system of calumnies and falsehoods upon which the Planters are condemned, and their characters destroyed. It would be a waste of words to point out the danger and infamy of such a system as this. It must come home to every bosom which is not dead to every feeling of honour, patriotism, truth, and virtue, and can excite in every honourable mind, only one feeling of contempt and indignation.

That the African Institution carry on a most terrific system of espionage against the West India Colonies, is not to be doubted. Their spies in the Colonies are numerous, and their characters such, as in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, render them justly execrated and dreaded by every thing honourable and good in the community. Their influence, it would seem, extends into every department of Colonial government; and though it has lately received a check and exposure, still there is reason to believe that some of the old leaven remains, which must be purged from the Colonial lump, before these possessions can enjoy repose or find security. The Edinburgh Review, their great organ, boldly advertised for the emissaries who are required. "It would be

highly impolitic in the board (African Institution) to disclose in a public report their information on this subject. We shall continue the same silence, and entreat such of our readers as have the means of giving information, which may assist in detecting the practices in question, to transmit their Colonial information without delay, either to the publishers of the Review, or to the Institution in London (the Address of the Secretary, Mr. Macaulay, is Birchin Lane, London)*". Misery, mischief, and ruin, must be the consequences of such a system as this, which, since the inquisition was abolished in Britain, never dared to rear its head in the country.

The instructions given to these informers or agents, whether local or imported, were to supply accusations, *quocunquè modo* accusations. Such was the case of Mr. Middleton, engaged 23 years ago to take charge of the school at Walton, Jamaica. When that gentleman could no longer shut his eyes to facts every hour witnessed, and when he could obtain no accusations without violating truth, he transmitted his information accordingly, and the reply, by return of packet, to him was "we have no further occasion for your correspon-

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xv. page 501.

dence; we are sorry to find you have been *bitten by the rattlesnake;* and we can believe nothing you may advance in future *."

The case of Governor Elliot, in St. Kitts, who at the time he was telling the Colonists to their face that they were the most excellent of men, wrote to his Majesty's government that they were a set of miscreants who could neither be believed on their honour nor their oath, is a striking instance of the efforts of the Institution, in the course mentioned, and so well known, as to require only to be mentioned to be remembered with indignation. His case was certainly not an insulated one. Colonel Macallister's case is not forgotten, who got the hint to write only such letters as would please in a certain quarter. The cruel libel upon the character of Sir James Leith's aide-de-camp, which Sir James declared to be "*a calumny without the shadow of a foundation;*" and which the court of King's Bench, in London, established, by a verdict to the same effect ostensibly against Mr. Hatchard; but, in fact, against one of their secret "incorrigible dupes," developes their machinations in all their deformity.

Some years ago the papers laid before Parlia-

* Jamaica Royal Gazette, July 19th. The author states he had the information from Mr. Middleton himself.

ment, upon the authority of the different governors, informed the nation that the Slave population were well treated. The governor of Honduras especially, in 1817, stated "I have in *no part* of the world seen the labouring classes of people possessing any thing like the comforts and advantages of the Slave population of this country." In 1822, Colonel Arthur, a new governor, first writes to Earl Bathurst, that they were perfectly well treated, but afterwards, that they "were severely oppressed," even beyond "any idea he had formed of the extent of their grievances*." The year following, the brave and upright Colonel Codd, appointed to that government, officially writes thus to Lord Bathurst, "here the negro is well fed, well clothed, and every comfort suiting his station is liberally provided for him, here are no regular systems of punishment: here are no workhouses; and I really believe in *no part of the world where Slavery exists, can the government of them be in a more indulgent form;* it is quite common for them to lay by hundreds of pounds, with which they purchase the freedom of themselves, or obtain a friend to purchase with their money, that of their wives and daughters†". How

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 457, page 18, Session 1823.

† Parliamentary Paper, No. 457, page 100, Session 1823.

different the statements before and after Colonel Arthur's government? The African Institution, who pretend to know so many things, can probably tell us the reason.

CHAPTER X.

MANIFESTO *of the abolition society.—Examined point by point.—Their charges refuted in every instance. —True state of our West India Colonies, and the treatment of our negroes in these possessions most particularly stated.—Marriages.—Religious instruction and establishments. –Population of these Colonies—their labour, their food—their clothing, their houses—their property—their punishments—fixed by law, &c.—Scandalous mis-statements, and calumnies, advanced under these heads against the Colonies, by the Review, Mr. Clarkson and others.*

THE labours of a self-constituted body in the metropolis, styling itself "The committee of the London Society, for mitigating and abolishing Slavery in the British dominions," next require consideration. Who the individuals are who compose this society, it is not very material to inquire. Generally they are members of the African Institution, which society, Proteus like, assumes every shape as suits its purpose. Some passages, however, in the works of the society, such as "*protecting duties and* BOUNTIES EXCLUSIVELY, *afforded to the growers of Sugar*

in the West Indies," enable us to trace the *interested* pen of him who guides the "*Committee*" of this anti-colonial and dangerous society. Trampling upon every principle of truth, justice, and christianity; this interested committee artfully adduce the most hideous calumnies against our West India Colonies, that they may get the support of the mother country withdrawn from these possessions, and bestowed upon our PURER East India territories; but more especially upon that capacious *grave* of human life, and check to commercial enterprise in Africa—SIERRA LEONE.

The exertions of this unconstitutional society are so incessant, so persevering, and so fraught with danger, that it becomes the duty of every man who has any regard for his country, to develope and arrest them. In a particular manner this is due to those multitudes of truly BENEVOLENT men amongst us who are misled by the arts and calumnies of interested and designing men, of reforming politicians, who under the mask of liberty and humanity, agitate, and disturb this country; and who, sounding their trumpets, publicly announce, see "we give alms," (their pockets closely shut all the while) proclaiming also, "thank God we are not like other men, publicans and sinners." West India Slave masters—"stand

back, give place, we are wiser, better, holier, than other men." Was this the language used, or commanded to be used by the great apostle of the Gentiles, in his intercourse with Slave masters and Slaves? No! In addressing themselves to Slaves, men who owned Slaves and men who did not, the Apostles of old taught thus, "be kindly affectioned one towards another—in brotherly love preferring one another." And the greatest of all the Apostles in his days defined CHRISTIANITY to be, that "CHARITY which suffereth long and is kind, which vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, not easily provoked," which "*thinketh no evil*," and which "rejoiceth not in inquity, *but rejoiceth in the truth.*" Judging the society in question by their productions, it would appear, that *their* Christianity, and *that* inculcated and taught by the Apostle Paul, is totally different, for instead of "thinking no evil," the society seem to think ONLY OF EVIL, and instead of rejoicing at truth, they rejoice *only* in contemplating "*iniquity.*"

With these observations (which I may here remark, apply only to those men *behind the curtain*, who knowing the truth, conceal or misrepresent it, to suit their views,) called for by the means and the ways adopted and pursued by the anti-colonial party, I proceed to lay

before the reader, paragraph by paragraph, the false and disgraceful charges contained in the appeal to the public, made by that society, and circulated throughout Great Britain.

"In the Colonies of Great Britain there are at this moment, upwards of 800,000 human beings in a state of degrading personal Slavery."

Mark the disingenuousness and malignity of this society. They set out with stating their object to be the abolition "of Slavery in the BRITISH DOMINIONS," and yet at a leap they pass over the millions of Slaves in India, "that strong hold of iniquity," where, "from time immemorial, Slavery had built itself a nest," as Mr. Wilberforce expressed it*, and pounce upon our West India Colonies *only* †. That there are about

* Speech, House of Commons, March 19th 1823. "There was this to be said with respect to Slavery in the East," namely, "that there it had from time immemorial built itself a nest—become a part of individual existence. It had existed as long as 2,000 years," in India "that strong hold of evil—for this they were not answerable—they had not caused it."

† The population stands thus in 1821, *including the Mauritius.*

	Whites.	Free coloured.	Slaves.	Total.
Jamaica	28,000	30,000	345,000	—
Demerara and Esquibo	2,871	2,980	* 77,346	—
Berbice	* 310	94	16,300	—
Trinidad	* 3,440	14,344	21,719	—
Tobago	* 324	156	14,597	—
Granada	* 883	2,742	26,910	—
Grenadines	226	76	2,000	—
St. Vincents	827	646	22,020	—
Barbadoes	13,794	2,613	69,132	—

St. Lucia.

700,000 of human beings, personal Slaves in the West India Colonies is a fact; and it is equally true, that the laws of Great Britain made them so. The state of Slavery, however, there established, is milder and better protected, than in any country on the globe, where such a state of society exists. The value of these Slaves, for VALUE they have by the laws of England, amounts at £80 each, to £56,000,000 sterling, and the other property which depends upon *their value*, amounts to double the sum, together nearly 170 millions *, *four-fifths* of which immense property belong to persons resident in Britain, or

	Whites.	Free coloured.	Slaves.	Total.
St. Lucia - - - - -	1,000	1,500	10,000	—
Dominica - - - - -	* 993	2,932	15,686	—
Montserrat - - - - -	* 253	522	6,126	—
Nevis - - - - - -	1,300	150	8,909	—
St. Kitts - - - - -	1,800	198	* 17,788	—
Antigua - - - - -	* 1,980	4,182	31,064	—
Virgin Islands - - -	1,300	220	9,000	—
Bahamas - - - - -	3,000	2,000	* 10,649	—
Bermuda - - - - -	4,754	—	4,794	—
Mauritius (1819) - -	8,078	12,806	80,185	—
Total	75,133	78,161	789,225	942,259

Those marked thus * are from Parliamentary returns last Session, the others the population from official and other returns in 1815, and subsequent years.

* *Valuable property, West Indies*, 1789.

Slaves,—No. 450,000 at £50 - - £22,500,000
Lands, works, &c. - - - - - 45,000,000
Houses, towns, &c. - - - - - 2,500,000—700,000, &c.

Report, Committee P. Council, 1719, *part* 4.

mortgaged to her merchants. The abolition or rather emancipation committee *must* remember this fact.

"These Slaves," says the emancipation committee scribe, " are the absolute property of their master, who may sell or *transport* them at his pleasure; and who may also regulate according to *his discretion* (within certain limits) the measure of their labour, their food, and their punishment. The Colonial laws arm the master, or any one to whom he may delegate his authority, with a power to punish his Slaves to a certain extent, *without the intervention* of a magistrate, and *without any responsibility* for the use of this tremendous discretion, and to that extent he may punish them for any offence, or for no offence."

With the exception that the Slaves are the property of their master, there is not (as these sentences stand, and are *meant* to stand and to be understood) a syllable of truth in one of them. The *labour, the food, and the punishment* of Slaves, are all regulated by fixed laws enacted by, and under the delegated authority of the sovereign of Great Britain and his council, and subject to their revision and controul. The violation of these laws, also, comes under their cognizance by review, if supposed or suspected, to be erroneously or partially administered. As to the labour, food, and punishment, established by these laws, no case has ever been made out to shew that the first is too hard, the second too little, or the third too severe. Any attempt to violate these laws in any respect, is readily cognizable, and the Slaves can find a ready and certain redress.

The statement put forth, that a master can punish his Slave to a certain extent (why not state the extent?) and for no offence is a positive untruth. If the Slave die under his hand, or if death ensue in consequence of the punishment, even when inflicted by a legal weapon, though within the limits which the law permits, the master is liable to be tried and executed for the offence. The fountain of mercy, his majesty's representative, may, taking all circumstances into consideration, pardon and forgive, but no other power can save him. To this responsibility every master is liable. The laws of antiquity left the master of Slaves "without responsibility for this tremendous discretion." These, but more especially the Jewish law seem to have considered the murder of a Slave by his master, as a crime impossible, or at least removed beyond the power of mere human jurisprudence to determine. By a positive law the Great Author of our being, has determined the point. While death without mercy was denounced against a free man for causing the death of another free man, the decree was different regarding the Slave who might die under, or in consequence of the chastisement of the master: Exod. ch. xxi. v. 20. "And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished.

Notwithstanding if he continue a day or two, *he shall not be punished.* HE IS HIS MONEY." For this reason the law was forbidden, to account the master guilty of murder, even though he should have struck the Slave with an illegal weapon. By the word "punished" here used, is to be understood, any punishment less than death, at the discretion of the judges. It is impossible to peruse this divine law, without being struck with the deepest admiration and veneration. We behold in it the *goodness and mercy of infinite power, and unerring wisdom.* Supposing no feeling of humanity remained in the bosom of the master, yet his inhumanity being counteracted by the strongest passions that inhabit the human breast, interest and avarice, the MOTIVE which could induce a master to destroy his Slave—"*his money,*" must lie so deeply concealed as to be beyond the power of human legislators to descriminate. Leave the crime to me in this instance saith the Almighty. It belongs to me alone to judge, punish, and avenge. The enemies of the colonies, when they so loudly proclaim the unceasing murders committed in the West Indies, would do well to remember this sacred law, and tremble at their own presumption. Man is not wiser than his Maker.

It is very true that criminal Slaves are pu-

nished by flogging. So are both men and women punished in Great Britain. It is the only punishment, except confinement, that the law in the West Indies defines and permits, except in cases of capital felonies. It is equally true, that it is inflicted by a whip, but not a cart whip, nor an instrument, equal in cruelty to the cat-o'-nine tails used in the army and navy of Great Britain. A similar instrument was used for a similar purpose amongst the Jews, and also amongst the Romans, for punishing criminal Slaves, or persons suspected of being Slaves; as appears from the writings of the apostle Paul, as well as the heathen historians. The Jewish law is the *maximum* of punishment by the hand of the master, in our Colonies, namely, "*forty stripes save one.*" In many places, however, it is less and seldom exercised to that extent, even where merited. Females in particular are now, in the islands, scarcely ever subjected to punishment, and certainly never but for great crimes—crimes which, were they free, their lives would be forfeit. This fact is well known to all acquainted with the Colonies. Whatever may be asserted to the contrary, no Slaves but the guilty are punished. At all times the master will rather forgive and screen, than injure what is his own. The Slaves know this well, and in their depredations and offences cal-

culate upon it. No black man, nor white man in a subordinate situation in the Colonies, is on any account allowed to strike or punish a negro, whether guilty of an offence or not. That offence, upon a regular complaint, must be examined into and punished by the master or his immediate delegate. If the negro has been guilty of any serious crime, he is tried by a Slave Court, composed of magistrates as the law directs, and after a regular trial, punished at their discretion. If it is for a capital felony, then the proceedings must all be taken down in writing, and submitted to the governor, who may confirm or supersede the sentence as he sees meet. In different islands the mode of procedure is different, but all amounting to, and guaranteeing equal protection and security to the Slave. It is certainly not a little singular, that there should be such a cry of horror raised at punishing Slaves, the most criminal, by flogging, when the same system was, and is now, often had recourse to, *even* upon the persons of females, in Great Britain, and for offences for which, even if guilty, the negro would not be touched.

But, say the anti-colonists, a master *may* punish his Slave too severely, and for NO OFFENCE. Man *may do* any thing—law can only take cognizance of the offence when committed; and the

master who could be so cruel or unwise, as to do either, can be quickly reached, and severely punished. But the negro, being a Slave, cannot bear witness in the Supreme Court against his master; and therefore if there be no free witnesses, the criminal may escape. In the first place, this is not the case in all the Colonies, nor strictly true in any; and in the next place, where that appears to be the bar to justice, the matter is cut very short. The master is compelled to be evidence against himself. The Slave has been unmercifully treated. There he is—who did it? If the master does not know, he is presumed not willing to know, in fact, he is held to be the criminal, and the law imperatively takes the Slave from him, and gives him to another master. Seldom, very seldom indeed, is there occasion in any colony to put such a law in operation. But still such a law exists and has been acted upon.

"Many of the Slaves are *(all may be)* branded by means of a HOT IRON, on the shoulder or other conspicuous part of the body, with the initials of their master's name, and thus bear about them, in indelible characters, the proof of their debased and degraded state."

As this paragraph is worded, it is one of the bitterest calumnies and falsehoods ever penned. In the windward islands, no such a thing is ever seen or heard of amongst Slaves, even the most

criminal of Slaves. The general charge is founded upon the following partial case. While the Slave trade continued, and numbers of African negroes were brought into the extensive colony of Jamaica, it was found necessary to mark the initials of their master's name on some conspicuous part of the body, and which was generally on the arm or shoulder. This was done, that in case any of those newly imported Slaves should wander from their master's estate, being unable to speak any language that was understood or to make themselves known, it might by that means be ascertained to whom they belonged. The manner in which the initials were affixed, was as follows: A plate of silver, on which the initials were formed, was heated by spirits of wine, and the skin lightly touched so as to discolour it, and leave the form of the letters; the operation, physicians state, occasioned scarcely any pain, and no excoriation, which, had it done, would in fact have destroyed the object of the operation. No Creole Slaves, or those who could fluently speak languages generally understood were so marked, and none, either Creole or African, have been so branded since the abolition. Humane motives prompted the measure, known in Jamaica only—it was done to save the Slave from danger, and perhaps the

loss of life—not to *mark* or discriminate the property. But, when will the anti-colonial party tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth? Never while they can substitute falsehood or misrepresentation for it.

"The Slaves, whether male or female, are *driven* to hard labour, by the impulse of the *cart whip*, for the sole benefit of their owners, from whom they receive *no wages*, and this labour is continued (with certain intermissions for breakfast and dinner) from morning to night throughout the year."

This is either wholly false, or else the facts are misrepresented. The Slaves are not *driven* to their work; the whip is only used to punish them when they neglect their duty, or commit a crime; the persons called drivers, so far from *driving* them to the field, leave their houses, and reach the places where they are to work, at least half an hour *before* a single negro turns out, or approaches the place. Wherever they go, or whatever they are about, he goes before them, and stands *before* them, not behind them, nor dare he use a whip to any one, unless he is commanded. The master, indeed, gives his Slave no wages in that acceptation of the word, but he gives him better, what the Slave can less easily abuse, viz. clothing, food, a house, utensils for it, lands to cultivate for himself, implements to cultivate his own fields, he protects and supports him in sickness, infirmity, and old

age; good or bad times make no difference to him, he is still provided for, justice is obtained for him without a fee, and he has no taxes to pay. Are these things nothing? Are they not wages, such as millions of free men cannot possibly obtain? Why should these undeniable truths be so disingenuously *concealed?*

The nature of their labour, and whether it is "*hard labour*" or not, will best be ascertained by laying fully before the reader, a plain and undeniable statement:—

The days and nights in our West India Islands are so nearly equal, that the difference is not worth taking into account, and may be taken at 12 hours each. The negroes are called to their work in the morning on some estates by a bell, on some by the blowing of a shell, and on others by the crack of the whip; they seldom assemble till half past 6 o'clock, and they quit their work again at 6 in the evening. During this period, they have two hours to dinner, and one to breakfast, the latter of which is carried out to them by women appointed for that purpose, and who also carry water during the heat of the day, to such as may want it to drink. If a heavy rain falls, they are ordered to their houses, and if they get wet, they receive each, who may chuse to take it, a dram. Women who have families

are allowed to remain in their houses till nine o'clock, in order to take care of their children, and cook their husbands' breakfasts, which they carry to the field warm, leaving their children under the care of an old woman, who receives a quantity of rice, and abundance of milk to feed them with, while the mother is at work. Some prefer in good weather to carry them out to the field with them, where the same attendance is allowed; in this the mother pleases herself. She is allowed to go home half an hour before noon, to stay half an hour later than the other negroes when they turn out in the afternoon, and again gets liberty to go home to her house, half an hour before sunset; she never works above six hours in the day, nor does any negro out of crop work above nine hours.

If any of them are short of provisions, and want to go to their grounds for them, they are permitted upon asking. If they have hogs, goats, &c. to kill and carry to market, they are not only permitted, but assisted. If they wish to go and see a friend in a distant part at any time, it is readily granted; their labour is altogether performed by the hoe, aud is upon the whole, exceedingly light and easy; it is child's play compared to the work performed by the labourers in this country. The plough is used on

some estates, but on the majority of estates in the West India Islands, it cannot be used on account of the very steep, but in a more particular manner, from the exceeding stony and rocky nature of the land; 50 negroes will hole, and 20 cross hole, an acre of land per day, 15 manure, and 10 plant it, 15 to 20 weed it, 12 weed ratoons, and 9 or 10 in strong canes, cut as many as will make a hogshead of Sugar. They do not know what hard labour is, and it is not a little remarkable, that the enemies of the Colonies are now bringing forward in support of their theories, that very evidence taken before Parliament, which they formerly either concealed or denied, which went to prove, that one European free man, did as much work in one day, as three negroes *.

Women who are bearing children are most carefully and tenderly treated. From the third month of pregnancy, they are exempted from labour, a proper midwife and nurse are appointed to attend them at the time of delivery, and a medical man is within call, in case of necessity; his assistance is scarcely ever required. Within the Torrid Zone, parturition is comparatively easy; the mother at this time receives

* Clarkson, Cropper, Review, Macaulay, &c. &c.

cordials, wine, and nourishing food, and she is never required to turn out to do any work, till six weeks or two months after her delivery. While nursing, she receives an extra allowance of two quarts of fine flour, and from two to three lbs. of Sugar weekly; she receives double allowance of Osnaburghs, and checks, and linen, and handkerchiefs for herself and her young children. Herself and nurse, in some islands, receive one dollar each, if the child survives three weeks; if the child survives fifteen months, the mother receives six dollars, two dollars more upon the child joining the grass or vine gang; if she has reared six children of her own, or including any adopted one, she is by law exempted from labour, but the very lightest work, and the usage of several islands is, that with that number, the mother is never required to do any work of any kind, nor is her name ever called but for the purpose of receiving her own and her children's allowances*.

An experienced surgeon attends and visits every estate twice a week, some daily, and is always at hand in case of emergency. According to his directions, the hospital is supplied with cordials, wine, and food, these cost the Slave nothing. The more respectable negroes

* St. Vincent's, Official Correspondence, p. 52, 53.

who have families, are allowed to remain in their own houses, where they are equally supplied, and meet with the same medical attendance; the greatest care and attention is paid to the aged and infirm, and it is both pleasing and satisfactory to visit them in their comfortable dwellings, and hear them relate the tales of other times, what they have done, not what they have suffered.

"In the season of crop, which lasts four or five months in the year, their labour is protracted, not only throughout the day, as at other times, but during either half the night, or the whole of every alternate night *."

This also is falsehood. Formerly, it was a general custom during crop to make Sugar during the night. It is still in some places the practice; but when that is the case, the negroes are divided into three watches or spells, while on estates well handed, they sometimes mustered five. One spell took the labour at the works from mid-day to midnight, and another from midnight to mid-day, by which regulation, with three spells, the negroes so employed, had the half of each night, and the whole of each alternate night to rest, and that at the season of the year when the days are shortest. Besides, it must be borne in mind, (and which the Abolitionists with their usual want of candour conceal) that the labour about the works is—*was*

* Committee Abolition Address.

the only labour carried on by night. On an estate which makes 180 hogsheads of Sugar, only *eleven* negroes are employed, where night work is carried on, and so in proportion to other and more extensive estates. From this were, and are, exempted altogether, all women with families, carters, mule-boys, cattle-keepers, watchmen, &c. &c.—of late years, however, the improvement in machinery, and making and hanging boilers is so great, that night work is becoming less frequent throughout the West Indies, and the labour which commences at daylight, is finished by eight in the evening. The negroes also, are in general tasked to a quantity of work, which they can easily perform, and this being the case, they rise in the morning when they please; they often finish the mill work by sun-set. Should a bad day at any time keep them a little later, they are not required to come to work till seven o'clock next morning, so that they have always their full night's rest. In a very short time, night work would be altogether unknown in the Colonies, were the planters left alone to turn their time and attention to those improvements going on in the world, and to obtain the means of introducing them upon their plantations.

As a further illustration of the moderate rate of their labour, I may add the following statement,

communicated to me a few months ago by a gentleman from Trinidad. His estate is 14 miles from the shipping-place, and consequently the cartage is what is accounted very heavy. It is carried on in the following manner. The carters load the carts in the evening, and about three o'clock in the morning they set off, and generally return about three in the afternoon, when they feed their mules and retire to rest. *Next day* they feed and dress their mules, put their harness in order, and do any light work about the works till twelve o'clock. They then go to their gardens, and, except loading their carts in the evening, and feeding their mules, do nothing more that day. Next morning they proceed to the shipping-place as before. One cart, with two mules and two negroes, carries forward one hogshead of Sugar; in some places waggons are used, and the labour therefore of all these combined is equal to travelling from London to Barnet and back three times a week!

Next we are told that the negroes are *driven* to their work, and compelled to labour under the lash on Sunday, in order to procure a maintenance for themselves.

This is a falsehood, more mischievous and unfounded than the rest. Sunday is a day which is their own, and which they claim as their own, to spend as they think meet, and in which the

driver lays his ensign of authority aside. No whips are seen on that day, nor do the Slaves need to labour on that day to procure their food; many of them do labour on part of that day, but it is for gain, and at their own pleasure, not from necessity, nor at the command of their master. The Legislature of St. Vincent's may speak for the whole West Indies on this head; they give "a most positive and flat denial to that cruel and unmanly calumny, that the Slaves, instead of being allowed the exercise of their religious duties on the Lord's day, are driven by the command of their masters, to labour on that day of rest to all other beings, in the provision grounds to raise a maintenance for themselves; this is one of the *falsehoods* which the very propagators of it must have known to be so, because it is impossible that the most depraved of their spies in the Island of St. Vincent's would venture to assert as a fact, that which every negroe in the colony could, if questioned, falsify; which is also most effectually done by the 8th *section* of the New Slave Law *." Many of the negroes after attending the markets in the morning, are very regular attendants at church, which their masters most anxiously encourage; when they spend the day otherwise, it is their

* St. Vincent's Official Correspondence, p. 19.

master's loss, and to his regret. The Sunday is spent by the Slaves in the Colonies, much as it is spent in all Roman Catholic countries, and even in Protestant countries on the Continent of Europe; the abuse of that sacred day is certainly much to be regretted, but it is daily becoming less in the Colonies, and the introduction of rational knowledge and true Christianity will ultimately remove an evil to be lamented, but which must be effected by knowledge, not by compulsory laws, amongst such a race of men as the negroes are, and this reformation is not the work of a day.

Half a day each week is commanded by law, to be given to the Slaves, to cultivate their grounds during that period of the year, viz. from May till January, when alone cultivation can be carried on; but the master does not consider the law as binding to give them no more time. It is of the utmost importance to him, that his Slaves should have abundance of provisions, and therefore, he regulates the time given according to the season, and the necessity of giving additional time, more or less; he accordingly allows that time, as he sees most advantageous, more especially at the commencement of the wet season, when the seeds and plants require to be put into the ground expeditiously, and when the

rising weeds require to be kept down amongst the young plants; days together, are allowed to the Slave, as the case may be, for that purpose; one day at that time, is of more use to the Slave, than ten in December or January. For those who are spendthrifts and indolent, the master purchases seeds and plants of various kinds, and attends to see that they make a proper use of them. On the same spot, yams, Indian corn, potatoes, plantains, cassado, &c. grow, and in succession, without each injuring the other, so that a very small piece of ground in reality, yields abundance to the negro; the plantain in particular, is one of the most useful and prolific plants, that a kind Providence has in a warm climate bestowed upon man. "There is," according to Humboldt, "none which affords so much food from the same quantity of land as the plantain or banana tree, (the Reviewer is in a mistake, the banana and plantain are different,) a field of 100 square *metres* (1076 English square feet) in plantain trees, affords 4000 lbs. weight of food; the same field in wheat will produce about 30lbs., and in potatoes 90lbs. The quantity of food from wheat, as 133 to 1, and to the quantity from potatoes as 44 to 1 *." The description here is correct, every plantation cultivates large portions of land in plan-

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xix, page 183.

tains, independent of what the Slaves raise in their own gardens, their houses are surrounded and overshadowed with them; the tree grows from shoots, yields the fruit in nine months; a bunch in new lands will supply a man with food for a week, regular shoots spring up in succession, bearing fruit as the old are cut down, when the branch is cut off. I have given industrious negroes 40 dollars in the course of a few weeks for provisions, principally for plantains, and from these and various other kinds of provisions, they not only support themselves in abundance, but make a good deal of money.

After planting with the early rains, a weeding or two keeps down the weeds, till the rising plants cover the ground; this is nearly all the labour that is necessary, till the respective crops are ready to be gathered and taken up, when every assistance that is necessary, is cheerfully given to the Slave, to enable him to bring his harvest home. The corn will keep well for many months. Yams, more especially Guinea yams, a most superior food, and next to the plantain, and equal to our best potatoes, can be dug at leisure from the root, without injuring what remains, but rather the reverse; fruits and vegetables of the finest description grow around, it may almost be said, spontaneously, and cer-

tainly with the least possible culture and attention; peas, beans, ochras, callilues, oranges, pine apples, shaddocks, alligator pears, cover the face of the country—a country which no frosts blast, nor storms desolate. Unto all these things, the negroes add hogs, goats, and poultry innumerable. The rearing of all these costs them nothing, and from the sale of them they amass considerable sums of money, to be laid out in procuring superior clothes, and ornaments to their houses, the comforts, and many of the luxuries of life. Their dwellings are neat, clean, and comfortable, and exhibit a picture of comfort and good order, not to be witnessed amongst hundreds of thousands of the peasantry *of Great Britain and Ireland.**

* That the Slaves in our Colonies are not in the miserable state they are represented is evident from the money many of them are known to possess. I have known negroes who had above 100 Joes (£160) ready money; I have heard of them who had £2400. Several are known to possess Slaves as is indeed shewn from the Dominica report. The proprietors of an estate in St. Vincent's writes within these few months, "My negroes, with the privileges allowed them, make for themselves every year five times the amount allowed by proprietors and farmers in Britain, and I could take an even bet, that many of our negroes have more ready money by them than any set of labouring people in the world. I shall state what took place on my own estate when the new coinage arrived. They were informed of the act and told that to save them the trouble of going to the treasury for exchanging the old for the new, if they brought it to me (others did the same) I would exchange it for them. They accordingly in general did so. One man had 40 dollars, and his wife (the wife always keeps a separate purse) 25½ dollars; and many of them 8, 10, and 15 dollars each, which sums morcover are known not to be *one-*

Besides the country provisions and other advantages previously enumerated, the Slaves receive a weekly allowance of 2 lbs. of salt fish each —4 lbs. of pork at Christmas and at New Year's day. They also receive sugar, rum, salt, flour, &c. when they may require these on particular occasions. The grown-up people receive six or eight yards Osnaburghs each, a hat, and either a jacket and trowsers, or cloth to make them. The head people receive great coats, double allowances of Osnaburghs, &c. a check shirt and a linen shirt. Women who have children receive extra allowances of linen shirts, checks for petticoats, and linen for shirts to their children. They also receive blankets annually, pots, and other utensils, and materials for furniture, and the labour to make it is supplied by their masters. Their houses are clean and comfortable, built sometimes of the Rousseau cane, but more generally of American boards, and thatched with the cane top, a most durable and excellent thatch. The appearance of the negroes, even at their work, is clean and neatly clothed; and on festive occasions, and on Sundays, they appear in

third of what they are worth. Of this I have had sure data, for some years ago when the Joes were called in, these very people gave me, some 5, some 7, and one man 9 Joes. How many of your peasantry or small farmers in Britain could muster such sums as these?"—(*St. Vincent's, July* 31*st*, 1823.)

dresses clean and fine and gay, beyond what a mass of our population can wear. Permission is readily granted them to receive or to go and visit their friends, and the entertainments they give on such occasions are such and so expensive, and accompanied with such luxuries as none of the labouring population of Great Britain ever see or can afford.

Such is a true and faithful picture of the state and condition of the Slaves in the Colonies, well known to every one who has seen them, or will take the trouble to look at them. What a different picture is this from that sketched, caricatured by the London abolition society? The facts do not rest upon my assertion; they are all capable of proof—they have been proved. In every state of human society established on earth there will always be found some individuals wretched and miserable. The West Indies are not without such, but their misery and wretchedness, upon a proper and impartial investigation, will be found to proceed from their own vices, and not from the despotism, severity, or cruelty of their masters as is constantly, erroneously, and unjustly pretended.

With regard to their being *chattels* in the eye of the law, and as such sold to pay their master's debts, this has ever been the case in

every country where personal Slavery has been established, and while it exists it is difficult to see how the law can be altered. Amongst the Romans, Greeks, and especially among the Jews, this was the practice as appears from *Isaiah*, c. 50, v. 1. "*Which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you,*" says the prophet addressing the Israelites by command of his Maker. The assertion that families are separated by sales in the West Indies is not correct. The greatest care is taken to prevent this from taking place, nor would any person buy families thus separated. The anxious wish of every master is to procure families, and hardly an instance is known where families are separated. The official reports from the Colonies substantiate what I state.* In reality the sales where families are separated are very few in number. Those who are liable to be thus sold chiefly are

* The negroes have been often removed in the entire gang, from one plantation to another, but that has always been from a worn-out impoverished soil to a new and fertile one; and invariably with the consent of the negroes themselves, who are very capable of appreciating the lightened labour and increased advantages of such removal. No person ever thinks of separating families by a sale. Even when disposed of by the Marshal under the writ of execution, they are invariably placed in families; and few persons under such circumstances would dare to propose the separation of one of them but with the consent of the parties themselves. Nor do persons wish to become purchasers till they obtain the consent of the negroes to become their property.—*St. Vincent's Report*, 1823.

house servants attached to merchants and mechanics, who may have been unfortunate in the world, or leaving the Colonies. The servants of the latter are generally retained in their places by their successors; and those of the former are almost always purchased by persons in similar lines of life, nor do their masters' misfortunes change their condition or situation in life. Negroes attached to estates remain fixed to the estates, though these be sold, and change masters. A gang is never broken up without their own consent, and at any rate it is a circumstance that very rarely happens. Slaves are never removed from one island to another, nor even from one estate to another in the same island, without their consent previously obtained. With regard to the removal from one estate to another in the same Colony, it is not easy to understand why this great lamentation should be made about it. Except Jamaica, few if any of our islands are larger than some parishes in the Highlands of Scotland, and in which islands the negroes are removed perhaps a few miles from their former abode—frequently not further than from St. Paul's to Hyde Park. Is this more severe than the fate of tens of thousands of families, who from necessity, nay even in the

common course of business, are broken up, each individual separated, severed to the distance of thousands of miles—scattered to the four winds of heaven, never again to meet on earth? But were the negroes in reality, the ignorant, degraded, and brutal race which the scribe of the African Institution represents them to be, how little would their feelings be hurt or wounded upon separations, even did such take place? To bind the Slaves to the soil, would in many places, (such as the Bahamas and Virgin islands) be to bind them to poverty, misery, want, and destruction.

"The Slaves in general have LITTLE OR NO access to Christian instruction."

How men, with the hallowed name of Christianity on their lips, should thus violate the first of its precepts, by bringing against their brethren a charge so manifestly unjust and untrue, must be left to their own consciences and others to determine. If they do it through ignorance they are blameable, because they need not want information—if they do it with a knowledge that the reverse is the fact, I pity and forgive them. There is no Colony in the West Indies at this moment, in which, besides the regular established clergy of the church of England, there is not a very considerable number of missionaries, Moravians

and others, and every encouragement given to them in every quarter, provided they are men of probity and worth. In Grenada, there are, at this moment, four missionaries, two clergymen of the Episcopalian communion, and one Roman Catholic priest, to a negro population of 26,000, ALL Roman Catholics, which gives more religious instructors, in proportion to the population, than is to be found in many parts of Great Britain. In many islands—in Trinidad—in St. Vincent's, and other places, the number is equally great, and I do add, and challenge this Society, one or all of its members, to contradict me when I say, that in every place these teachers of religion, while they confine themselves to teaching the true principles of Christianity, are not only not obstructed, but encouraged and made welcome; and further, that both resident and non-resident proprietors are joining together in getting and sending out clergymen to instruct their negroes, independent of those sent out by religious societies in this country. A cry has been raised in this country about the obstructions which missionaries met with in some of the islands. The fact is, that most improper and dangerous men were employed for that purpose, who proceeded in such a manner that, in some cases, says the Corporation of Kingston, in an ordi-

nance, " the minds of Slaves have been so operated upon and affected by the fanaticism of ignorant, illiterate, uneducated men, false enthusiasts, as to become totally deranged."—(*Parliamentary Proceedings*, 1815, p. 105.) " Some of the Dissenting missionaries" (says Stewart) " sent out were low ignorant men, who perhaps did more harm than good by their instructions, if they might be so called. Instead of inculcating the plain practical duties which Christianity enjoins, they expatiated on topics altogether incomprehensible by their ignorant auditors —as the new birth, grace, election, and the utter inefficacy of mere good works to recommend them to the favour of the Almighty. They became, in consequence of the fanatical cant of these pretended preachers, more hypocritical, more assuming, more regardful of outward appearances, less cheerful, and lively, full of a fanatic gloom bordering on melancholy, and less attentive to the affairs of their families or the interest of their owners. I know a poor elderly negro woman, who had always been remarkable for cheerfulness, alacrity, and an animated attention to herself and her family, suddenly, from an over zealous attendance on a mulatto preacher, sink into a gloomy listlessness and despondency. She neglected herself, she neglected her family,

she would not even exert herself to provide for the most obvious and urgent wants; and when reproved for it, the poor creature would reply, with a piteous look and whining tone, "The Lord would help his servant," (pages 282 and 283.) For opposing men like these, the characters of the West India Colonists have been loaded with opprobrium and reproach, and they have been held up as infidels and monsters. Principles more dangerous than those which have been noticed, and more destructive to the happiness of the negroes, could not well be inculcated amongst them.

As religion is a point much dwelt upon by the calumniators of the Colonies, and is a subject always had recourse to, in order to irritate the Mother Country against the Colonies, and as the charge here made is of the most sweeping and unqualified nature, it becomes necessary to pay a little more attention to it than it otherwise would deserve.

It would extend these pages to an inconvenient length to notice every point; but from Parliamentary Papers I select the following official returns of the Religious Instructors in the West Indies, 10 years ago, remarking that since that period they have been greatly increased.

BARBADOES, eleven Rectors—population about 90,000—Churches in perfect repair—divine service performed in a proper manner—the clergy

as a body, highly respectable. (*Parliamentary Proceedings*, 1815.) There are also a number of missionaries on this island. NEVIS—Three established clergymen and one missionary—Population, 8000 Slaves. ST. CHRISTOPHER'S—Five Established clergymen, three Moravians, four Methodist missionaries—twelve to a population of 17,788 Slaves. ANTIGUA —Five Established clergymen, three from the West India Society, four teachers of the United Brethren, and two Wesleyan teachers—fourteen, to a population of 35,000. JAMAICA *—42 Established clergymen, three Roman Catholic priests, in Kingston—one Presbyterian clergyman, and a very considerable number of missionaries; and the West India Society have four. " In TOBAGO," says Sir W. Young, " several negro children are brought every Sunday to christen. I am informed that on most estates there are many negroes who have been christened, and many who can repeat the Lord's Prayer, Belief, and the Ten Commandments†. In Grenada, St. Vincent's, St. Lucia, and Dominica, the negroes are almost all rigid Roman Catholics. Of the religious establishment of Trinidad Sir Ralph Woodford, in his Letter to Earl Bathurst says, " A return is given of one Protestant minister, and *eight* Catholic priests; and Mr. Clapham states the arrival of several missionaries in the island since the conflagration of Port of Spain, in 1803." On an estate where I lived, generally every evening, always every Sunday morning and Sunday evening, the Slaves publicly said prayers and sang hymns (not the worse, it is presumed, because these were sung and said in French,) and every evening the young children regularly did the same.

* There are only 31 at present resident.

† " In these islands, the Slave population does not amount to twelve thousand souls; and we have two clergymen of the Church of England, a Presbyterian minister, five indefatigable Wesleyan missionaries, and other licensed preachers, among which are four blacks, three of whom are Baptist's, and one in charge of a chapel, where he performs Divine Service according to the forms of the Church of England. The opportunities of religious instruction in our principal settlements, accordingly are numerous, nor are our plantations altogether without them. There are, as we have already suggested, few, if any, even of our field Slaves, who do not profess Christianity. And although the interest which our Slave-holders take in the religious improvement of their Slaves, naturally varies with the respective opinions and habits of the former, we can confidently assert, that no obstacle whatsoever is at this time opposed, on any of our plantations or elsewhere, to the dissemination of religious doctrines among the latter."—(*Bahama Report*, 1823.)

Nor is this all. In the year 1794, a Society of West India Gentlemen, under the patronage of the Bishop of London, erected themselves into a society to propagate religious instruction amongst the Slaves. Their proceedings lie before me, and they state that though their funds are doubled these are inadequate to meet the demands on them—" the letters from the gentlemen employed by them in the West Indies bear testimony to the awakening spirit which manifesting itself around them in favour of the communication of Christianity to the negroes, and of the growing disposition to encourage the conversion to that holy religion,"—and this spirit is not confined to " private individuals, but is honourably manifested by those invested with the highest authority in the islands."

At the very last meeting of this society, besides liberal subscriptions from individuals, gentlemen connected with the West Indies, a most munificent donation of £1000 was received by the Society from the general fund of the West India merchants and planters in the city of London.

So much for the daring assertion that the Slaves in our Colonies have " little or no religious instruction." On such a sacred subject, truth might have been adhered to. The departure from it requires no comment to point out the cruel nature of such conduct.

" Marriage, that blessing of civilized and EVEN OF SAVAGE LIFE, is protected in the case of Slaves by NO LEGAL SANCTION. It cannot be said to exist among them. They are still DENIED the blessings of the marriage tie."

I have seldom met with more consummate ignorance, and more deliberate falsehood and misrepresentation. Where, I ask, is it that SAVAGES enjoy the blessings of the marriage tie? Is it amongst " *our African Brethren,*" whose chiefs Mr. MACAULAY informs us, " engross all the women"—in Africa, where polygamy is universal, and any thing like a permanent union betwixt the sexes is unknown amongst all ranks

and classes of the population? That they are *denied* the marriage tie in our Colonies, is positively denied. The clergymen in the Windward Islands, and I believe also in Jamaica, are obliged by law to marry, and to baptize their children without fee, whenever called upon so to do by either master or Slave. But that either the master or the clergyman should *compel* them to marry, or use the authority vested in a master to *command* them to do so, is a proposition so monstrous and so absurd (yet the writer means this or he means nothing, and his charge falls to the ground;) that no human being but this champion of *virtue*, would ever for a moment have thought of it. The Slaves in our Colonies have the SAME "*legal sanction*" for the marriage tie, if they choose to enter into that state, that every person in Britain has. Some of them marry, and lead very regular lives—but the multitude continue to content themselves with such marriage ties as the "SAVAGE STATE" affords, and amongst these, "our African brethren" are decidedly the most profligate and the worst. Their example contaminates generations of creoles. No one regrets this mode of life more than their master. Knowledge and intelligence must first be diffused amongst the progeny of Africans, so inveterately accustomed to polygamy; before they can or will be bound by the marriage tie.

This is a subject, however, in which the Slaves consider themselves as beyond their master's controul, and not amenable to his authority. To attempt to bind the African part of them by marriage, would produce the most terrific demoralization. After the fashion of their own country many of them live regular lives *, but the restraint of being bound to each other is, generally speaking, impracticable and idle to

* Innumerable proofs might be adduced in support of this fact. But the following from the Grenada Gazette, of the 18th October last, is deemed sufficient, and proves that the negro Slaves do not live, as it is asserted they do live, " *like brutes.*"

" Died lately, upon *Lower Latante Estate*, at the advanced age of 85 years, SUSAN, a Slave born upon, and belonging to that property. She was followed to the grave by UPWARDS OF TWO HUNDRED RELATIVES, of which number *fifty-six* were her *immediate* descendants, viz: two sons, two daughters; *nine* grandsons, *ten* grand-daughters; *fifteen* great-grandsons, *fifteen* great grand-daughters; and *three* great great grand-daughters."

" One of the charges most gravely urged against the Colonies is, instead of encouraging marriages among the Slaves, a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes is even worse than tolerated; and a general denunciation of lewdness is brought against all the drivers, all the book-keepers—every man, black or white, in fact, employed upon West India plantations. This is a subject upon which the venerable Mr. Wilberforce appears to be peculiarly sensitive. It recurs nine or ten times, if not oftener, in his Appeal (pages 16, 18, & 20, and as respects managers, overseers, pages 21, 22, 23, 28, 32, 53, *et passim.)* To all this we have the same answer as before, namely, that there is no truth in the accusation, so far as respects these islands. It rarely happens among us, that adult negroes are unmarried; and without fear of contradiction we assert, that pains are taken and generally with success, throughout the islands, to promote early marriages among the Slaves. We had not to consult the oracle of the African Institute, to know that the marriage state affords perhaps the best security for sobriety and steadiness among our people." *(Bahama Report.)*

attempt. I have heard of its having been attempted to engage uneducated Slaves in the bonds of marriage. In a few weeks they were broken through, and the missionary and master, by what authority I know not, separated, divorced, and re-married the parties. We may shudder to contemplate such scenes as these; but every premature attempt to enforce such obligations, must be productive of similar results*.

* The 13th and 14th Sections of the Slave Act, says the legislature of St. Vincent's, shew the anxiety of the Legislature to produce permanent connections of the sexes, and the beneficial results to be expected therefrom—They provide, "That for every infant Slave which shall be born within these islands, and shall survive three weeks, the midwife and nurse shall each be entitled to receive one dollar, and if there should be no nurse in attendance, the midwife shall be entitled to demand and receive two dollars; and upon every infant Slave attaining the age of fifteen months, the mother thereof shall be entitled to demand and receive six dollars; and upon every such infant being incorporated in the grass or vine gang, the mother, or person nursing the infant, shall be entitled to demand and receive the further sum of two dollars; the said several premiums or sums of money shall in the first instance be paid by the owner or owners, or person or persons having the direction of the said Slaves, but shall be deducted by him or them so paying the same from the public taxes, which shall become due and payable by the owner or owners, possessor or possessors, of the said Slaves, next after the payment by him or them of the said several sums of money, and the amount thereof charged by the Treasurer against the public"—And

"That every female Slave who shall have six children living, or who having raised from infancy and during the period of nurture, a child or children of deceased mothers, and which shall continue to live with her as her adopted child or children shall have of her own and of such so raised and adopted child or children six children living, shall only be employed in light labour in the field or otherwise; and the owner or possessor of every such female Slave, shall be exempted from all manner of

The Parliamentary returns, and the authority of the Rev. Mr. Brydges, are decisive upon the charge made by the anti-colonists, that "*the marriage tie is denied*" to the Slaves in our Colonies. This charge, says the latter, page 22, "I positively contradict, by stating, that I have myself married *one hundred and eighty-seven* couple of negro Slaves in my own parish (Manchester), within

taxes for such female Slave, any thing in the Act commonly called the Poll-Tax Act or any other Tax-Acts of these islands passed or annually to be passed to the contrary notwithstanding; and a deduction shall be made for all such female Slaves, from the taxes of such owner or possessor, on the certificate of the justice, taking the annual returns that proof was given upon oath to his satisfaction, not only that the requisite number of children, together with the mother or adopted mother are living, but also that the mother had been employed only in light field or other labour, and was provided with the means of an easy and comfortable maintenance."

To this last clause it may be added as matter of fact, that the usage of the Colony goes further than the strict letter of the law would require, for women with six children are never required to perform *even* "*light labour in the field, or otherwise,*" for their masters. They are, to all intents, free persons, with the exception that they are not allowed to remove themselves from their families or the plantation; but for any purpose of the master, their names are never called but to receive their allowance of provisions and clothing.—Such women are rendered more happy than they ever would be in the enjoyment of freedom in the common acceptation of the term. In addition to this allowance of food and cloathing, they are provided with a large and comfortable house to enable them to have their children around them. They may be said to have a life-estate in as much land as they can cultivate. A medical man must attend them in their hours of sickness, and they know they have in reversion a comfortable provision for their day of old age and imbecility. Do these things weigh nothing in the scale of human comfort and happiness?" *(Official Report.)*

the last two years, all of whom *were encouraged by their owners* to marry. In another parish, St. Thomas in the East, I have reason to know, that there have been *three times* that number married during the incumbency of the present Rector, Mr. Trew;" and at page 27, he adds, " during my residence in this parish, I have actually baptized 9,413 negro Slaves, many of whom attend church; some have learnt the Lord's Prayer and ten commandments, &c.*" By the returns in Parliamentary paper, No. 347, p. 3, of last Session, which returns His Grace the Duke of Manchester informs us, " *were in an imperfect state;*" we, nevertheless, learn that during the last 14 years, 3,590 marriages of Slaves had taken place in Jamaica by the regular clergy, independent of the numbers married by the missionaries. In their resolutions lately passed, the inhabitants of the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale, state that " in that parish the *whole body* of the Slaves were initiated into the knowledge of *Christianity*, and that within the last *six years*, SEVENTEEN HUNDRED COUPLE had been married therein."

No sooner were these facts published in Britain, than the abolition committee attacked them and their authors with the utmost virulence, and

* " *Voice from Jamaica.*"

asserted that the whole had been got up upon the spur of the moment to deceive the people of the mother country. The official Parliamentary return alluded to, however, negatives in the completest manner, the disgraceful charge. That return was moved for in the House of Commons, August 3d 1822, transmitted by the Duke of Manchester, March 17th 1823; and from that paper the following account of the marriages of Slaves in Kingston, from 1808 to 1823 is selected.

MARRIAGES OF SLAVES, KINGSTON.

1808.....20	1813..... 40	1818.....140
1809..... 8	1814..... 78	1819.....180
1810.....21	1815.....126	1820.....167
1811.....10	1816.....129	1821.....155
1812.....19	1817.....134	1822.....121

Shewing first, a regular increase and next falsifying, in the completest manner, the charges that marriages were got up on this occasion to impose upon the people of Great Britain, for the *whole*—I say the whole, of those enumerated, were solemnized *before* the people of Great Britain had made any inquiry about them.

The number of marriages solemnized in Jamaica, during 14 years, in proportion to its population, is next sneered at. Be it so—but if 3,590 marriages were solemnized, three hundred thousand or three millions might have been so-

lemnized, had it been required. This fact is sufficient to disprove the charge, that "the marriage tie is *denied*" to West India Slaves.

"In consequence" of this want of, or denial of the marriage tie, "the most unrestrained licentiousness—degrading, disgusting and promiscuous intercourse universally prevails amongst the Slaves, encouraged by the example of the whites."

It seems to be the failing of this writer, (but whether from ignorance or design I know not) to pervert the facts of every subject which he touches. The licentiousness here proclaimed is produced, not by the want of the marriage tie, but the want of the marriage tie is produced by the licentiousness. That there is more licentiousness than should be in the West Indies, I do not mean to deny, but I must beg leave to ask—Is there no licentiousness, no degrading, disgusting, promiscuous intercourse between the sexes in Great Britain, and other places of her dominions —none in India—none in Africa, that paradise of innocence and peace? Is it all confined to the West Indies? No! And while a London Society, if they were to take their stand in Fleet Street or Cranbourne Alley, would in one hour in any evening see more disgusting public scenes of licentiousness, vice, misery, and degradation, than they could perceive, I aver it, in twelvemonths, in all the West India Colonies: I marvel why

they should heed home so little, and look abroad so much. In the West Indies I utterly deny that licentiousness and immorality exist to the extent that those hideous caricatures, dashed off by the anti-colonial writers or Societies in this country, exhibit to the world. Neither bond nor free are so degraded, nor do we there see those scenes of misery and crime, which are so often witnessed in this country, as the consequences of the violation of the laws of virtue. One thing is, besides, abundantly plain, that the whites in the West Indies, do not "engross all the women to themselves," as Mr. MACAULAY says, our African *brethren,* do. The licentious lives, and promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, said to prevail amongst the Slaves, prove at least, that they are not in the Colonies, as Mr. MACAULAY informs us they are in Africa, "compelled to lead solitary lives" for want of females; and consequently by the shewing of their calumniators, the whites in the West Indies are not quite such tyrants as the African chiefs, or the Indian Brahmins, who keep their (female) Slaves, at the extent of a long pole from them, nor the Slaves in our Colonies so oppressed, or their affections so restrained as those in Africa by, (be it always remembered,) "*our* FREE *African brethren.*" There are moreover people in

the Colonies, both white and black, whose character and conduct would not lose by comparison with any in the Mother Country. I do not know of any thing that more completely prevents the blessings of marriage being extended among the whites, than the frantic meddling of certain Societies in this country with the political state of society in the Colonies, which renders it so insecure and dangerous, that few white men can wish to have wives and families exposed to the horrors that may overtake them.

Whatever has been said and asserted to the contrary, the Slaves, or the forefathers of the Slaves, in our Colonies, are as much the outcasts of Africa, and dregs of its rude population, as the population of New Holland is the dregs of the population of this country. Let us, therefore, pause and consider for a moment what the population of our West India Colonies in general is, namely, either the dregs of the rudest savages and barbarians on earth, or else the immediate descendants of these, and when we bear that fact in mind, we shall not only cease to wonder that ignorance and licentiousness prevail among them, but rather feel surprise that they are improved to the extent they are. It cannot be denied that the creole Slave really is, and looks upon himself as much superior to the

African negro as the most intelligent and enlightened persons in this country, stand in point of intellect, above the creole Slaves in the West Indies.

We hear everlasting lamentations about our African brethren doomed to Slavery in the West Indies without being told exactly what kind of *brethren* these are. Some of them are cannibals like that man whom the intelligent whites at Sierra Leone tried by a Jury of whites and the English law, for killing and eating one of his countrymen, and who declared in court, that he had a great desire to eat one of the white jurymen—really, like those men whom Adams in his account of the African coast, describes, as follows:—

" A considerable portion of the negroes, obtained at Cameroons and Gaboon, are a miserable race of beings, and held in but little estimation in the West Indies. They appear to be in the descending link in the great animal chain, *which connects man with the Ourang-outang*. Their foreheads are short, oval, and receding; eyes close together; noses scarcely above the level of the cheeks; mouths wide and projecting; receding chins; hair thinly sown, soft, and woolly; narrow chests, long bodies, abdomen protuberant, short lower extremities, and long arms, legs without calves, and long feet. They have poor constitutions, &c."

The licentious manners of the population of Africa, is perfectly notorious, and no human being but the champion of the African Society, could for a moment suppose, that, for many generations, a mass of them could be brought to consider chastity a virtue. Polygamy is universal. The chiefs and free people, as Mr. Macaulay plaintively informs us, " *ingross all the women*," and of the nature of that polygamy and " promiscuous, depopulating intercourse," a short account, and upon a moderate scale,

is subjoined from the authority just quoted.—"At Warree (Bight of Benin) and other parts, polygamy is common; and the number of wives which the black monarch had exceeded SIXTY; for such I judged to be the number, as one day in my rambles I inadvertently peeped into the royal seraglio; and here indeed were QUEENS actively employed in all the duties and embellishments of domestic life, *from the toilette to the washing-tub.* And as we often hear of kings being (allegorically) called the fathers of their people, the extraordinary fact seemed to be verified in old King OTTOO's person; as from the number of children in this establishment, it would be no great stretch of imagination to fancy the population of WARREE to have been principally of his own creation." Such a sovereign as this, however, cannot well be ranked amongst the monsters, the scourge and terror of the human race, and he would therefore certainly escape, in Mr. Stephen's contemplated—recommended, general massacre.*

Reader, those and such as those, nay the very refuse of such a population, are our African brethren, which at different times have been brought to people our West India Colonies. Can their manners be reformed in a day? and as vice and ignorance bring poverty, disease and misery

* "In Africa we have, indeed, these savage monsters, who, under the title of sovereigns, render themselves the scourges of the human race; for what stronger example of such cases can be imagined, than that of chiefs who tear their unhappy innocent people from their houses and families, and sell them as cattle to foreign merchants, to be carried into a perpetual and cruel bondage far from their native land.—The monsters," the writer repeats with Grotius, "who, under the title of sovereigns, render themselves the scourges and horror of the human race, they are savage beasts whom every man may justly exterminate from the earth. All antiquity has praised Hercules for delivering the world from an Antæus, a Busiris, and a Diomede." *(Slave Trade of Spain in Northern Africa, pages* 31 *and* 45.*)* Well, let us leave *Mr. James Stephen, Hercules, Antæus, Busiris, Diomede,* and the *Kings* of *Dahomey* and *Ashantee,* to meet and settle this business.

in this country, upon all addicted to them, cannot it be for a moment supposed, when a newly-arrived or passing European, sees wretched looking negroes, that this wretchedness proceeds from their own vicious habits and pursuits, instead of proceeding from the cruelty and neglect of their masters. In ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, inquiry would ascertain this to be the fact.

But really it is most unfair to charge all the licentiousness of the Colonies upon the native inhabitants, when it is recollected what characters are imported into them from Great Britain. I will tell the society a tale, which it is surprising none of their correspondents have told them, or if told, that it has not, like other West India wickedness, been made public. Truth they know is a libel, and I have no wish to come under the penalty of the law. Yet I shall be able, without coming into a court, to make *some* of them comprehend me. By the influence of AN INSTITUTION in this country, an English lawyer was sent as a —— to a West India Colony. He took a fancy to a young *Mestee* girl in her teens. The mother was a *prudent* woman. Two prime Slaves were the price of her daughter's virtue. "Eager love, says Jupiter, admits of no delay." A ship amongst the last vessels engaged in the

Slave trade lay in the roads. Two stout fellows of our "*poor Pagan African brethren*" were purchased, and, by a formal conveyance, drawn by the HIGH donor, made over to the mother. I remember very well, while mulattoes tittered, negroes stared, and white men cried shame, seeing the bridal *palanquin* which bore the bride, with those marriage ties which form the peculiar blessing of "*the savage state,*" going past the parson's door, to the house of the impatient BUCKRA, where for two days and two nights, (not so long as Mahommed laboured with the black-eyed Mary) the parties remained secluded. Some time after, this personage quitted that Colony for another —leaving it also, he returned to the former. His love was cooled. A flaw, I cannot possibly suppose intentionally made, was discovered in the conveyance of the two negroes. They were taken back and sold to another person. Yet this man was a loud declaimer against Slavery and the Slave trade, and what is more, he has been held up (*ignorantly no doubt*) by the fathers of the abolition in this country, as a parragon of humanity and virtue.

If the Parliamentary Commissioners now in the Colonies, inquiring into legal abuses, are commissioned to look after such subjects, the above will perhaps not be found a solitary instance.

"It is an universal principle in Colonial law, that all black or coloured persons are presumed and taken to be Slaves;" in consequence of which, iniquitous law, as it is called, these persons are liable to be apprehended as "run-away Slaves," and sold into endless bondage,—"*though perhaps born in Great Britain itself.*" In this way "their liberty is often greatly endangered, and sometimes lost—if they fail to establish their freedom by such evidence as the Colonial laws require."

We are not aware that Great Britain produces blacks. Colour is, and in our Colonies must be held as a presumption that the man is a Slave, when he appears as a vagrant, and can give no reasonable account whence he came, and whither he is going, or reference to any one concerning his condition. In such cases, and in such cases only, are any black or coloured persons called upon to give an account of themselves. Oh! but these are obsolete laws, and man *may* do so? Man *may* do strange things. There are laws in our statute books by which the Lord Advocate may send the people of Scotland to jail at and during his pleasure. But does he do so? And I could point out prisons in THIS country where men, guilty of no crime, and committed without any examination, languish for want of bail which they could not possibly procure, till they are "HEARD." But because it *may* be done, it does not follow that any free man has been or can be sold as a Slave under that presumption. The person apprehended upon that supposition

suffers no greater restraint than vagrants do in this country, who cannot give an account of themselves. The evidence the Colonial laws require is very simple. Any credible witness, black or white, saying that they know the man to be free, saves any one from any further trouble. Every free man has his freedom registered in the registry of the Colony to which he belongs, and if he has it not with him, or if he is born of free parents, he can without difficulty procure evidence of these things, should he have come away from one island to another where he was totally unknown, without introductions, which is not likely. Any man claiming the labour of a negroe, who says he is free, must prove his title to him—prove it against the immediate power of the crown, in this case the guardian, protector, and defender *; and if the

* About 150 years ago, an African Slave ship was wrecked on the Musquito shore. The negroes escaped into the interior and mixed with the native Indians. Some time after this the early British settlers reduced some of these people into Slavery by force or by purchase. Complaints were made to the Governor and Legislature of Jamaica, that people entitled to their freedom had been made Slaves.—Inquiry was instituted, and some individuals were emancipated, but numerous applications continuing to be made by others, and it being extremely difficult to determine the descendants of the Slaves so wrecked, from those imported into the Colony, the Legislature of Jamaica passed an Act, in 1741, directing those persons then owned as Slaves in Honduras, to be considered thenceforth as such; but at the same time forbidding, in the most express

writer in question would attend to common sense, the very fact, that colour is a pre-

terms, the Colonists to have any thing more to do either with the native Indians, the mixed race or descendants of the Slaves formerly wrecked.

Thus matters stood till within these few years, when, during the Governorship of Col. Arthur, in 1821 and 1822, some of the descendants of those people made Slaves at the remote period mentioned, claimed their freedom. A commission was appointed by government to examine into their claims, and by their report and the decision of the courts there, eighteen persons were declared entitled to their freedom, and obtained it. In some of the cases the claimants acquiesced—but others have on strong grounds appealed to the King and Council, and what decision may be there given it is not for me to anticipate.

The papers connected with these proceedings were printed by order of the House of Commons, on the 16th June last, and now lie before me. They completely negative the assertion made by Mr. Stephen, that any black or coloured man may be taken up and sold as a Slave "*even with his manumission in his hand,*" without there being any law to afford them protection or redress. These facts are not only altogether kept out of view by the enemies of the Colonies; but Mr. Buxton and Mr. Wilberforce, in the House of Commons, only a few days before it adjourned last year, as well as all their scribes who touch upon the subject, speak as if those things were the events of yesterday. This is a most unjust, ungenerous, and disingenuous mode of proceeding, and not only so, but they keep out of sight every extenuating circumstance. But let the Government Commissioners speak for themselves.

"The Commissioners, however, notwithstanding this explicit declaration in favour of the Indians, DO FEEL THEMSELVES BOUND TO DECLARE, that such are the extenuating circumstances under which they have been long held in bondage, as greatly, IF NOT ENTIRELY, to exculpate their present possessors; and therefore that it would be unjust, except in some few cases, wherein it might be both just and proper, to charge upon them what might be considered inadequate and equitable indemnification."—(*Parliamentary Paper, No.* 457, *Session*, 1823.)

So much for the accurate statements of the African Institution, who seem to make it a continued practice either to conceal or misrepresent truth, or substitute some falsification of it in every thing connected with our West India Colonies.

sumption of Slavery, will operate to deter any man from either selling or buying a negroe who may turn out to be the property of another man, who could make him pay most severely for depriving him of it. Numerous negroes who are really Slaves pass in our Colonies as free men on that very account. Every negroe when he absconds states himself to be free, and a quicker mode cannot be conceived by which emancipation would be effected, than by that counselled and contended for by the author of the registry bill some years ago, that every negro or person of colour found in any Colony who said he was free should be considered as such, unless some one in that Colony could prove he was a Slave. This rule of Colonial law, in fact, cannot be dispensed with while Slaves are held in them. It does also seem not a little singular that such an accusation so often refuted, should now be re-iterated against the Colonies, without a shadow of proof, particularly when the register bill is in full force, in which the name and description of every Slave in every Colony is accurately entered, so that no man can have any difficulty in finding out who are Slaves and who are free. If what this writer and his co-adjutors say were true, there could not be a free person of colour in our Colonies; and the very fact that

there are many, and these multiplying fast, in all our Colonies, is a convincing proof of the falsehood of the insinuation and of the injustice of the charge here brought forward. Mr. Stewart (page 333) says that from 10,000, the number in Jamaica in 1788, they had multiplied in 1821 to 35,000. Could this possibly be the case if every person, with a coloured skin, were therefore liable to be sold as a Slave, or, as Mr. STEPHEN, in "Reasons for a Registry," p. 65, says, to be "SOLD WITH HIS MANUMISSON IN HIS HAND."

When we are told the fact, "that many thousands of infants are annually born in our West India Colonies," we must be permitted to remark that it is no proof of unbounded promiscuous intercourse, and when it is added that the mulattoes increase so rapidly from the connections of white and coloured persons with blacks, we observe some proof of concubinage, but none of a promiscuous intercourse, and each fact shews us an increasing population.* From this cause, however, the writer states, that

* In farther refutation of the charges of universal depravity, and the general "licentiousness, disgusting, *depopulating*, and promiscuous intercourse between the sexes," asserted to prevail with unbounded license in these Colonies, I adduce from authentic and official returns the following comparison and reference:— Births.

" even now in the British Colonies there is no increase of Slaves; but, on the contrary, there is a diminution of their numbers." This is a most incorrect and partial statement. It is not true that the decrease is general. On many estates there is an increase. In Barbadoes and several of the old islands there is an increase; and in JAMAICA, says Mr. Stewart, page 231, " *there are now few plantations who have not an increase of Slaves.*" The reason of a decrease, where such is to be found, is very evident to those who will take the trouble to trace it to the right source. The cause is the great inequality of the sexes, which at the original importation was perhaps in proportion of

Births in Glasgow, 1822, - - - - -	Males 1573
Do. do. do. - - - - -	Females 1399
	Total 2972

Population say 147,000.

(Cleland's Mortality Bill.)

Births—Antigua, BAPTISED INFANTS	
SLAVES, 1817, - - - - - - - - -	Males 399
Do. do. do. - - - - - -	Females 374
	Total 773

Population 28,800.

Parliamentary Paper, No. 89, *Session* 1823.

So that, compared with the number of the population in the respective places, it appears that there are more children by ONE-FIFTH *born in the Old West India Islands inhabited by Creole Slaves* than there are in Glasgow, and that consequently by the mode of reckoning adopted by London Societies, the Slaves in Antigua are less licentious and more moral than the people in Glasgow.

eight males to two females. Most of these also were grown up people, being most in demand for immediate labour, who consequently, in course of nature died off without leaving a proportionate progeny. The great inequality in the sexes, arose from the circumstance that the greater number of the Slaves were prisoners taken in war, and persons, (males chiefly) sold for crimes, such as witchcraft, adultery, &c. It is quite evident therefore that some generations must succeed before the sexes can become equal. As soon as this shall be the case and the African polygamists shall be extinct, and their example no longer operative, (as is the case in the old Colonies, where few negroes have been imported for the last 50 years, as well as on old settled estates in the other Colonies)—then, the numbers will be kept up and increase, but not till then. We must also take into account that savages learn the vices of civilized life before they learn its virtues, and that the former prove most destructive to them. This is the true and simple history of the decrease of the annual diminution in the Slave population in some of our Colonies; and these the reasons why it will soon cease, and be followed by an increase. The comparison with the United States is neither fair nor just, be-

cause these States still import Slaves, and where the numbers increase as in some of the new States, that increase chiefly arises from the transfer of Slaves from other States.

" In none of the Colonies of Great Britain have these legal facilities been afforded to the Slave to purchase his own freedom, which have produced such extremely beneficial effects in the Colonies of Spain and Portugal, where the Slaves have been manumitted in large numbers. On the contrary, in many of our Colonies even the voluntary manumission of Slaves by their masters is obstructed, and in some rendered nearly impossible, BY LARGE FINES."

Truth, it would appear, cannot be told by this writer when he can affirm any thing else. What these obstructions to manumissions and these *large fines* in our Colonies to prevent them are, in point of fact, the reader shall judge. A master manumitting his Slave, was obliged to pay into the Colonial treasury a sum of money varying from £100 to £500, according to the law of the different Colonies, from which sum, from the time of its being paid till the day of the death of the manumitted person, he received from 6 to 20 per cent. *per annum* as a provision in case of sickness or misfortune. In Jamaica a bond is required, in the penalty of £100 currency, for an annuity of £10 *per annum*, in the contingency of the manumitted person becoming, at any future time, a charge on the parish. This provision was called for to prevent masters from manumitting aged, diseased, and infirm Slaves,

and leaving them friendless and a burden on the community. Such was the intention of the laws and regulations mentioned, where these existed; and I challenge the Society to deny the fact. The clamours of the African Institution got those laws repealed in most of our Colonies*, and the consequence is, that Slaves may now be manumitted at no expense, and nothing prevents

* "Here is no stamp required—no bond to be given, and the very act of recording guards against the loss. The only fees exacted are such as the public officers appointed by government at home take for recording the deed of manumission. The cases are rare, and indeed it may be said they have not occurred, where a Slave with the pecuniary means of obtaining his freedom has not found the parties, as well as the laws, to bend to the attainment of his wishes. But the instances are frequent where Slaves are known to possess money sufficient to redeem themselves and families, without evincing the least disposition to make such an use of their property. Indeed it often happens that negroes are known to lay out their money in the purchase of Slaves rather than in releasing themselves from Slavery. In such cases the rights of the Slave to his own bondsman may be said to be recognized by the common law or usage of the Colony, which equally protects him in the possession of other descriptions of wealth. No instance has ever been known in St. Vincent of a Slave having complained that his master had dispossessed him of any description of property; but the master can sue in the courts for his Slave, and obtain judgment against a white or a free man upon proof of the debt. The Slaves in St. Vincent, by the common usage and sanction of the society, have been, are now in fact—and know themselves to be as well protected in the possession of property, as any other class of persons. Who has made the complaint that they are not? Wherever he be let him come forth and make out his case—let the grievance be established—and then the remedy can be applied. But it is more than childish to call upon the Legislatures to make laws which are not required, and of the want of which complaint has never been made."—*(St. Vincent's Official Report.)*

any master from giving all his useless Slaves their liberty to-morrow, without giving them any thing for their support. At this moment, the number of free people of all colours is rapidly multiplying in our Colonies, but their condition is in many places extremely wretched. They are ignorant, they will not work, they can neither obtain food, nor clothes sufficient to cover their nakedness. A friend lately come from the West Indies informed me, that he has seen them half naked, begging from, and relieved and sheltered by, the Slaves on his property, and that he had brought home with him as a servant, a free boy, whom his mother begged with tears in her eyes, that he would take to afford him employment and preserve him from starvation. The Slaves regard many of these free people as objects of the greatest compassion. Without the means of instruction, their children become profligates, and to avoid the trouble and burden of providing for their children they form connections with female Slaves, and oftentimes in order to support themselves in existence or in idleness, those, in the back settlements, encourage and decoy the Slaves to abscond and rob their masters. Such is the state of a number of free coloured people in our Colonies, the wretchedness of which state must

continue to increase, until something is done to procure them food, clothing, homes, and instruction, for none of which they can afford to pay. No other results can follow the heedless manumission of Slaves in our Colonies for a series of years yet to come. But the same results flow from the same causes in other countries. "The redemption of the *Grumetta* (African Slave) in Africa," says Mr. MACAULAY, in the letter already quoted, "without any view of prospective advantage, would undoubtedly be a generous act: *but it would be of little real benefit to him, if he were immediately abandoned by the persons who had ransomed him,* and were not taught to use his fredom for the benefit of himself and of the society to whom he belonged. No hope, however, can be formed, that the charity of individuals would operate very extensively in this way." These are important truths, and we would recommend them to the serious attention of all those who call out for emancipating the Slaves in our West India Colonies, without thinking what these Slaves are to do when they are emancipated.

Whether from ignorance or design, the increasing free population of the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies is not candidly stated. It

is insinuated, or rather said, that this increase proceeds from greater facilities of manumission. I believe the true cause to be the following:— In these Colonies, the Europeans settle without the smallest wish or intention of re-visiting their native country. They therefore marry and have families, while some have families without the marriage tie, as in other places. These again marry and increase, and consider that country as their home. Another reason is; in most—in all of these Colonies, there were a great number of native FREE Indians, who intermarrying with the freed negroes and mulattoes, and also forming connections with whites and other free people, independent of their connections with negroes, produced a numerous race of free people, who multiply and increase. In the British Colonies there was no such population at the time of their settlement, while Englishmen instead of settling for life in our Colonies, and marrying and having families, always look forward to close their days in their native land. This certainly prevents the increase of the free population in our Colonies, being equal to the increase in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements. The insurrections in many of our islands, have also destroyed and forced away a number of the free settlers, while the exhausted state of

the lands in the interior of these Colonies, has forced away a great many more of our free people, to swell the population in the Spanish settlements. It must also be borne in mind, that a very great number of free coloured children come annually to this country, and never return to the Colonies again. These are, I believe, the real causes of the apparently greater increase of the free population in those Colonies, than in ours; but to assign any rational reason for it, would take away odium from our West India Colonies, which must not, it appears, be done.

I come now to the last charge, which is this—"Sixteen years have now elapsed since the British Slave trade was abolished; but during that long period, NO effectual steps have been taken either in this country or in the Colonies, for mitigating the rigours of negroe bondage." The falsehood of the charge here made is so notorious, that it scarcely merits contradiction. The mitigation goes on daily, and from the period when African savages have no longer reached the Colonies, improvements have made rapid strides. This must be known to government As negroes become more civilized, they become more industrious, more obedient, attend more to advice, are more respectful and obedient to their masters, and require less coercion and punishment. These

better feelings become reciprocal, and make the master more attentive and affectionate to his Slave. I do not mean to say the abolition of the Slave trade alone produced amelioration; that was constantly going on, but the exclusion of fresh numbers of savages has rendered improvement more rapid. The difference within the last 20 years is immense. In Jamaica, says Mr. Stewart, p. 230—231, "Many or most of the old abuses are removed; punishments are more rare and far less severe, the Slaves are not worked at unreasonable hours (excepting the night work during crop, which will continue until methods are devised for expediting the work by day at that period) labour is more mild; the Slaves are better fed, clothed, and lodged; and when sick, experience kinder attention, and are more amply supplied with necessary comforts, and above all, the breeding women are carefully attended to, and receive every necessary indulgence and assistance: atrocious cases of cruelty are rarely heard of; a greater degree of confidence, comfort, and contentment is observable in the looks and appearance of the Slaves," &c. I need not multiply references and proofs. I assert, that what is here stated to be the condition of the Slaves in Jamaica, is the condition

of Slaves in every other Colony, and in some even it is more improved *.

Yet the daring scribe of this London Society, though he knew this, asserts, that nothing has been done, nay, after arraying before his readers (with what truth I have shewn) the horrors he had imagined, created, and formed; he adds, "Such are some of the more prominent features of negroe Slavery, as it is practised in the Colonies of Great Britain. Revolting as they are, THEY FORM ONLY A PART of these circumstances of wretchedness and degradation" attendant upon it. He is right to conclude in spirit and in cha-

* "Punishment by the cart-whip has long since ceased to be used but in serious transgressions, and then with the moderation prescribed by the law. The females are never exposed and whipped in the manner represented, many of those who asserted this as fact knew the reverse. Confinement in the stocks, withholding for a week some little extra perquisite they have been allowed, and many other ways of making them feel and suffer for their misconduct are resorted to, till forbearance would no longer be serviceable to themselves or their connections. The women are often the most intemperate and turbulent persons in the gang, and when at last punishments can no longer be delayed, females are then employed about them, and for the express purpose of preventing this exposure so much complained of; and many persons who have been living for twenty years on plantations, have heard more of it in the debates in Parliament, and the inflammatory pamphlets in England, than they ever witnessed in St. Vincent's. It is in fact one of the calumnies best calculated to excite an abhorrence for the West Indians, and to arouse that torrent of public feeling in England which they will be the least able to resist. The constant custom in St. Vincent's, when severe punishment is called for, is to apply to two magistrates, before whom the offender is carried." *(St. Vincent's Report.)*

racter—it is only one additional fabrication added to the multitude advanced.

Throughout the manifesto issued by this society, there is not greater injustice and want of candour displayed in the misrepresenting truth, than in concealing facts. The latter is even more dangerous and reprehensible than the other.

CHAPTER XI.

Slavery as it formerly existed in Europe and in England.—Numerous important facts kept out of view by the anti-Colonists.—Negroes dislike innovations.—Instance of emancipated negroes in Tortola declining agricultural labour.—Spanish Colonial system strangely adduced as an example for Great Britain to imitate.—Emancipated Slaves in United States.—Their wretched state and bad character.—Enfranchisement of Slaves in Colombia misrepresented.—How effected—Importation of Slaves still continued by the United States.—Disingenuous proceedings of the anti-Colonists.—Buxton's motion.—The time they appoint for complete emancipation.

THE champions and scribes of the African Institution, in order to irritate the population of this country, never fail to describe the system of Slavery established in our West India Colonies as the worst witnessed on earth. Either history is a fable or their statements are untrue. From the pages of one of our ablest historians I select the account of that Slavery which formerly existed in Europe and in England.

Slavery in Europe.

Extracts from Robertson's Prefatory Essay to the History of Charles the 5th,—*relating to the State of the Peasantry in Europe.* Octavo edition, Sect. i. p. 15.

" An universal anarchy, destructive, in a great measure, of all the advantages which men expect to derive from society prevailed. The people, the most numerous as well as the most useful part of the community, were either reduced to a state of actual servitude, or treated with the same insolence and rigour as if they had been degraded into that wretched condition. *

" The persons employed in cultivating the ground during the ages under review, may be divided into three classes.

1st. " Servants or Slaves.

" This seems to have been the most numerous class, and consisted either of captives taken in war, or of persons, the property in whom was acquired in some one of the various methods enumerated by Du Cange.—Vol. 6. p. 447.

" The wretched condition of this numerous race of men will appear from several circumstances.

1st. " Their masters had absolute dominion over their persons. They had the power of punishing their Slaves capitally without the intervention of any judge. This dangerous right they possessed not only in the more early periods when their manners were fierce, but it continued as late as the 12th century.

" Even after this jurisdiction of masters came to be restrained, the life of a Slave was deemed to be of so little value, that a very slight compensation atoned for taking it away. If masters had power over the lives of their Slaves, it is evident that almost no bounds would be set to the rigour of the punishments which they might inflict upon them. The codes of ancient laws prescribed punishments for the crimes of Slaves different from those which were inflicted on free men. The latter paid only a fine or compensation, the former were subjected to corporal punishments. The cruelty of these was in many instances excessive. Slaves might be put to the rack on very slight occasions. The laws with respect to these points are to be found in Potgiesserus, lib. iii. c. 7, 2, and are shocking to humanity.

2nd. " If the dominion of masters over the lives and persons of their

* Note 9, page 209.

Slaves was thus extensive, it was no less so over their actions and property. They were not originally permitted to marry. Male and female Slaves were allowed, and even encouraged, to cohabit together. But this union was not considered as a marriage. It was called *contubernium*—not *nuptiæ* or *matrimonium*. This notion was so much established, that during several centuries after THE BARBAROUS NATIONS EMBRACED THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, Slaves who lived as husband and wife, were not joined together by any religious ceremony, and did not receive the nuptial benediction from a priest. When the conjunction between Slaves came to be considered as a lawful marriage, they were not permitted to marry without the consent of their master, and such as ventured to do so without obtaining that, were punished with great severity, and sometimes put to death. When the manners of the European nations became more gentle and their ideas more liberal, Slaves who married without their masters' consent were subjected only to a fine.

3rd. " All the children of Slaves were in the same condition with their parents, and became the property of the master.

4th. " Slaves were so entirely the property of their masters, that they could sell them at pleasure. While domestic Slavery continued, property in a Slave was sold in the same manner with that which a person had in any other moveable. Afterwards Slaves became *adscripti glebæ*, and were conveyed by sale together with the farm or estate to which they belonged. Potgiesserus has collected the laws and charters which illustrate this well known circumstance in the condition of Slaves. Lib. ii. c. 4, 5.

5th. " Slaves had a title to nothing but clothes and subsistence from their master, all the profits of their labour accrued to him. If a master from indulgence gave his Slave any peculium or fixed allowance for their subsistence, they had no right of property in what they saved out of that; all that they accumulated belonged to their master. Conformably to the same principle, all the effects of Slaves belonged to their master at their death, and they could not dispose of them by testament.

6th. " Slaves were distinguished from free men by a peculiar dress. Among all the barbarous nations long hair was a mark of dignity and of freedom. Slaves were, for that reason, obliged to shave their heads, and by this distinction, however indifferent soever it may be in its own nature, they were reminded every moment of the inferiority of their condition. For the same reason it was enacted, in the laws of almost all the nations of Europe, that no Slave should be permitted to give evidence against a free man in a court of justice.

"Villeins: They were likewise *adscripti glebæ* or *villæ*, from which they derive their name, and were transferable along with it. But in this they differed from Slaves, that they paid a fixed rent to their master, for the land which they cultivated, and after paying that, all the fruits of their labour and industry, belonged to themselves in property.

*"The usurpations of the nobles were become intolerable. They had reduced the great body of the people into actual servitude. Nor was such oppression the portion of those alone who dwelt in the country and were employed in cultivating the estate of their master. Cities and villages found it necessary, to hold of some great lord, on whom they might depend for protection, and became no less subject to his arbitrary jurisdiction. The inhabitants were deprived of those rights which in social life, are deemed natural and inalienable. They could not dispose of the effects which their own industry had acquired, either by a latter will, or by any deed executed during their life. They had no right to appoint guardians to their children during their minority. They were not permitted to marry without purchasing the permission of the lord on whom they depended. If once they had commenced a law-suit, they durst not terminate it by an accommodation, because they would have deprived the lord, in whose court they pleaded, of the perquisites due to him on passing sentence. Services of various kinds, no less disgraceful than oppressive, were exacted from them, without mercy or moderation.

"*Louis le Gros*, first adopted the plan of conferring new privileges on the towns situated within his own domains. These privileges were called *Charters of Community*, by which he enfranchised the inhabitants, abolished all marks of servitude, and formed them into corporations, or bodies politic, to be governed by a council and magistrates of their own nomination†.

"In less than two centuries, servitude was abolished in most of the towns in France, and they became free corporations instead of dependent villages‡.

"Long before the institution of communities in France, charters of immunity for franchise, were granted to some towns and villages, by the lords on whom they depended. But they are very different from such as became common in the 12th and 13th centuries. They did not erect these towns into corporations, they did not establish a municipal govern-

* The Ancient State of Cities, p. 29.

† Page 30, A. D. 1108, to 1137. ‡ Page 31.

ment, they did not grant them the privilege of bearing arms. They contained nothing more than a manumission of the inhabitants from the yoke of servitude *.

" A great number of these charters are published by Mons. D'Achery, in his Spicelegium. These convey a very striking representation of the wretched condition of cities previous to the institution of communities, when they were subject to the judges appointed by the superior lords of whom they held, and who had scarcely any other law but their will.

" The inhabitants of towns, having been declared free by the charters of communities, that part of the people which resided in the country and was employed in agriculture, began to recover liberty by enfranchisement †.

" During the rigour of the feudal government, the great body of the lower people was reduced to servitude. They were Slaves fixed to the soil which they cultivated, and together with it were transferred from one proprietor to another, by sale or by conveyance. The spirit of feudal policy, did not favour the enfranchisement of this order of men ‡.

" It was an established maxim that no vassal could legally diminish the value of a fief, to the detriment of the lord from whom he had received it. In consequence of this, manumission, by the authority of the immediate master, was not valid; and unless it was confirmed by the superior lord of whom he held, Slaves belonging to the fief, did not acquire a complete right to their liberty. Thus it became necessary to ascend through all the gradations of feudal holding to the king, the lord paramount. A form of procedure, so tedious and troublesome discouraged the practice of manumission. Domestic, or personal Slaves often obtained liberty from the humanity or beneficence of their masters. The condition of Slaves fixed to the soil was much more unalterable §.

" When charters of manumission were granted, they contained four concessions, corresponding to the four capital grievances to which men in a state of servitude are subject.

1. " The right of disposing of their persons by sale or grant was relinquished.

2. " Power was given to them of conveying their property and effects by will or any other legal deed. Or if they happened to die intestate, it was

* Note 16, page 232.

† Acquisition of liberty by the people, by enfranchisement, page 36.

‡ Notes, page 233. § Page 36.

provided, that their property should go to their lawful heirs, in the same manner as the property of other persons.

3. " The services and taxes which they owed to their superior liege lord, which were formerly arbitrary, and imposed at pleasure, are precisely ascertained.

4. " They are allowed the privilege of marrying according to their own inclination. Formerly they could contract no marriage without their lord's permission, and with no person but one of his Slaves *.

" As sentiments of religion induced some to grant liberty to their fellow christians who groaned under the yoke of servitude, so mistaken ideas concerning devotion, led others to relinquish their liberty †.

" The oblati, or voluntary Slaves of churches and monasteries, were very numerous, and may be divided into three different classes.

" The first were such as put themselves, and their effects, under the protection of a particular church or monastery, binding themselves to defend its privileges and property against every aggressor. They were rather vassals than Slaves. And sometimes persons of noble birth found it prudent to secure the protection of the church in this manner.

" Persons of the second class bound themselves to pay an annual tax out of their estates, to a church or monastery. Besides this they sometimes engaged to perform certain services. They were called " Censuales."

" The last class consisted of such as actually renounced their liberty, and became Slaves in the strict and proper sense of the word. These were called " Ministeriales." See Ducange, Voc. Oblatus, vol. iv. page 286 ‡.

" Great, however, as the power of religion was, it does not appear that the enfranchisement of Slaves, was a frequent practice while the feudal system preserved its vigour. On the contrary, there were laws which set bounds to it, as detrimental to society.

" The inferior order of men owed their recovery of their liberty, to the decline of that aristocratical policy, which lodged the most extensive power in the hands of a few members of the society and depressed all the rest.

" When Louis the 10th, issued his ordonnance, several Slaves had been so long accustomed to servitude, and their minds were so much debased by their unhappy situation, that they refused to accept of the liberty which was offered them. Long after the reign of Louis X. several of the

* Note 20, page 248. † Page 251. ‡ Page 252.

French nobility, continued to assert their ancient dominion over their Slaves. It appears from an ordonnance of the famous Bertrand de Guesclin constable of France, that the custom of enfranchising them was considered as a pernicious innovation. In some instances the Prædial Slaves were declared to be free men, they were bound still to perform certain services, to their ancient masters, and were kept in a state different from other subjects, being restricted either from purchasing land, or becoming members of a community within the precincts of the manor to which they formerly belonged. This, however, seems not to have been common. There is no general law for the manumission of Slaves, in the statute book of England, similar to that which has been quoted from the ordonnances of the kings of France.

" Though the genius of the English constitution, seems early to have favoured personal liberty, personal servitude continued nevertheless long in England, in some particular places. In the year 1514, we find a charter of Henry VIII. enfranchising two Slaves belonging to one of his manors. As late as the year 1574, there is a commission from Queen Elizabeth, with respect to the manumission of certain bondsmen belonging to her*.

SLAVERY IN ENGLAND.

Extracts from HUME'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, *relative to the State of the Peasantry in England, till the extinction of villeinage*, Appendix, page 211, 8vo. Edition.

" The most numerous rank by far in the community seems to have been the Slaves, or villeins, who were the property of their lords, and were consequently incapable themselves of possessing any property. Dr. Brady assures us, from a survey of Dooms Day Book, that, in all the counties in England, the far greater part of the land was occupied by them, and that the husbandmen, and still more the Socmen, who were tenants that could not be removed at pleasure, were very few in comparison†.

" There were two kinds of Slaves among the Anglo-Saxons; household Slaves after the manner of the ancients, and prædial or rustic, after the manner of the Germans.

" These latter resemble the serfs which are at present to be met with in Poland, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. The power of a master over his Slaves, was not unlimited among the Anglo-Saxons, as it was

* Page 253. † Page 212.

among their ancestors. If a man beat out his Slaves eye, or teeth, the Slave recovered his liberty. If he killed him, he paid a fine to the King, provided the Slave died within a day after the wound or blow, otherwise it passed unpunished. The selling of themselves or children to Slavery, was always the practice among the German nations, and was continued by the Anglo-Saxons*.

" If we consider the ancient state of Europe, we shall find that the far greater part of the society, were every where bereaved of their personal liberty and lived entirely at the will of their masters. Every one that was not noble was a Slave. The peasants were sold along with the land. The few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition.

" The first incident which broke in upon this violent system of government, was the practice begun in Italy, and imitated in France, of erecting communities and corporations, endowed with privileges of a separate municipal government, and which gave them protection against the tyranny of the Barons, and which the Prince himself deemed it prudent to respect.

" The relaxation of the feudal tenures, and an execution somewhat shorter of the public law bestowed an independance on vassals which was unknown to their forefathers, and even the peasants themselves, though somewhat like those other orders of the state, made their escape from those bonds of villeinage or slavery, in which they had formerly been retained.

" It may appear strange, that the progress of the arts, which seems among the Greeks and Romans to have daily increased the number of Slaves, should in latter times have proved so general a source of liberty ; but this difference in the events proceeded from a great difference in the circumstances which attend those institutions. The ancient Barons obliged to maintain themselves continually in a military posture, and little emulous of elegance or splendour, employed not their villeins as domestic servants, much less as manufacturers, but composed their retinue of free men, whose military spirit rendered the chieftain formidable to his neighbours, and who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterprize. The villeins were entirely occupied in the cultivation of their master's land, and paid their rents, either in corn and cattle, and other produce of the farm, or in servile offices, which they performed about the Baron's family, and upon the farms which he retained in his

* Chap. 23, page 302. vol. iii. end of Record 3.

own possession. In proportion as agriculture improved and money increased, it was found that these services, though extremely burdensome to the villein, were of little advantage to the master, and that the produce of a large estate could be much more conveniently disposed of by the peasants themselves, who raised it, than by the landlord or his bailiff who were formerly accustomed to receive it.

"A commutation was therefore made of rents for services, and of money rents for those in kind, and as men in a subsequent age discovered that farms were better cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a security in his possession, the practice of granting leases to the peasant began to prevail which entirely broke the bonds of servitude, already much relaxed from the former practices. After this manner villeinage went gradually into disuse throughout the more civilized parts of Europe. The interest of the master as well as that of the Slave, concurred in this alteration. The latest laws which we find in England, for enforcing or regulating this species of servitude, were enacted in the reign of Henry VII., and though the ancient statutes on this subject remain unrepealed by Parliament, it appears that, before the end of Elizabeth, the distinction of villein and free man was totally, though insensibly abolished, and that no person remained in the state, to whom the former laws could be applied."

Taking the Review and its associates as our guides, we should be led to suppose that there were neither air, land, nor water in the West Indies, or that if there were, that these elements were as barren and unproductive as Moses denounced to the Jews that their country should become in case of transgression—namely "The heavens over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thy feet shall be iron*." In the West Indies, however, all these elements teem with animal and vegetable life to an astonishing degree. In the small island of Tortola

* Deuteronomy, chap. 28, verse 23.

and its dependencies, which contain only about 8,500 persons, freemen and Slaves, there were in 1822 the following stock, &c.—horses 240; mules and asses 529; horned cattle 2,597; sheep 11,442; goats 3,225; pigs 1,825; poultry 44,050; and the quantity of fresh fish caught annually amounted to 1,583,373 lbs.* Does the reviewer believe that 533 whites and 1448 free coloured people of all ages consume the above, or the produce of the above, and that the Slaves get no part thereof? The quantity of fish alone exceeds half a pound per day to each individual in the Virgin islands! yet these islands are decidedly and in every respect the poorest of all the West India Colonies. Let our anti-Colonists, so fond of descriptions of misery and want, but apply to our whole Colonial possessions the scale here produced, and, without having recourse to Mr. Cropper's cotton speculation arithmetic, they would produce a result which would appal and sink into insignificance Mr. Cropper's boldest calculations. The quantity of fish by this scale annually caught in our West India Colonies would be 158,837,300 lbs.; the number of poultry in them would be 4,405,000; and of sheep 1,144,200, &c. &c.

The government of negro Slaves requires a

* Stobo's Statistical Tables for Tortola, April 1823.

firm and steady hand. A relaxation of discipline is attended with the most fatal and pernicious consequences to all concerned. There are more gangs of negroes spoiled by injudicious lenity than injured by severity. Their habits and their prejudices are always deep-rooted and strong, and amongst them, like every other rude people, change is extremely difficult, and improvement in the practices of civilized life slow. Innumerable and striking instances of this might be adduced, but the following for the present may suffice. A gentleman in London, who holds considerable estates in one of the Windward islands, directed his attorney a few years ago to discontinue the use of the whip upon his estates, and to substitute in its stead small rods as the weapons for inflicting chastisement or punishment. This change was so little satisfactory to the Slaves, that they went in a body to the governor of the Colony to complain of it, and to intreat his interference to have the old system restored*. They reasoned thus to the governor: When punished by the whip, the punishment cannot be inflicted without several people seeing it, and, however hidden the spot, without many *hearing* it; but by the new mode of punishment

* The governor is at present in this country. He can scarcely have forgotten the fact.

we may be carried into a thick cane-piece or brushwood, and there beat to death without any one but he who beats us, either seeing or hearing it done. There has been worse "*palavaring*" than this in African Institution courts of justice. The governor, however, recommended patience and acquiescence in their master's command. Another instance may be mentioned of their aversion to change. Some time ago a gentleman in Demerara got out a bell to his estate, in order to employ it as a signal for the negroes to turn out in the morning instead of the crack of the whip, formerly used for that purpose. The bell was rung—but the negroes kept snug till the whip was cracked as usual, and a very considerable time elapsed, and considerable difficulty was experienced to bring them to regulate their conduct by the change.

Amongst the facts regarding the West Indies, disingenuously kept out of view by the opponents of the Colonies, I may state the following. From the establishment of the oldest of these possessions till the restoration of Charles the 2nd, the West India Sugar trade, like the East Indian trade, was free to all the world; but at that time its value and importance began to be estimated and *felt*, and it was in consequence from that day to this restricted to Great Britain.

Most of the lands in the different Colonies were grants from the crown, upon the express condition that these lands were to be cultivated by African Slaves. It is a positive and undeniable fact that when the British Colonies, both in the West Indies and on the continent of America, opposed the further introduction of Slaves and enacted laws to prevent it, the Mother Country denied their right to do so, and enacted laws to protect and encourage the introduction of Slaves into the Colonies, because it was found beneficial to her commercial interests, her political power, and her prosperity. That Slaves were always held and considered as property is put beyond all question by the acts of the British government, more especially by the confiscation and subsequent sale of those Slaves who belonged to men attainted as traitors in the fatal rebellion in the year 1795, in St. Vincent's, Grenada, and other Colonies. But their own favourite Registry Bill, the creature and the offspring of the brains of the African Institution, determines that point, for though *Mr. Stephen*, whose memory on such subjects is none of the best, *may have* forgotten the fact, yet the British public has not, that one of the most plausible arguments he used in defence of that uncalled for measure was, that it

would determine, beyond evasion, cavil, or dispute, "*the property in Slaves**" and as such be most beneficial to the interests of absentees, mortgagees, minors, &c.

It has been stated, that Slaves in general acquire and possess considerable property, and it will perhaps be asked, if they do this when they are Slaves, will they not be more ready to acquire and increase it, when they are made free? The answer is, No! Experience proves the reverse. The authority which kept them in activity, and set them the example of industry, has ceased to operate, and lost its influence; the consequence is, that the negroe, like every other barbarian and native of the torrid zone, sinks back into his former state of indolence and inactivity, and will labour no more than is necessary to supply his immediate and pressing wants. The property he has accumulated, when in a state of Slavery, is in general dissipated and wasted when he becomes free; numerous instances might be adduced in proof, but the following shall suffice for the present:—

Mrs. Elizabeth Frett, of Spanish-town, Tortola, before her death emancipated seven Slaves, viz. William, George, Peter, Eve, Grace, Bice, and Mary-Ann. William was the oldest, and

* See "*Reasons for a Registry.*"

at the time of his emancipation was 40 years of age; three months after the death of his mistress, William owned and possessed a house, 2 sailing boats, both decked and sloop rigged; the largest was worth 700, the smaller worth 160 dollars. He was also the master and owner of *four* Slaves, four horses worth about 70 dollars each, and several head of horned cattle, and one acre of land. He died in July 1821, in great want, brought on entirely by indolence. He had got rid of all the preceding property except the house, a cow, and the land. George died about four years ago, and while he lived depended for support upon his friends, and would never labour nor cultivate any land. Mary-Ann lives in Broadtown, a common prostitute: and Bice exists by huxtering canes, and other estates' produce; she has a house and cow left by her father, and a piece of land which she never cultivates.

Such is the fate and fortune of these Slaves. Amongst the natives of the temperate zones industry is general and indolence rare; but amongst the natives of the torrid zone the case is the reverse, indolence and sloth are general —industry rare.

The Spanish Colonies and the system pursued by Spain in them, have been thrown in the teeth

of the West India Colonies, and very unaccountably held up as guides for the latter to imitate. If any thing from the quarter from whence this reasoning comes could excite surprise, the course here pursued ought certainly to excite it. Why, the argument and the contrast are brought forward by the very same men who are eternally dinning in our ears that the Spanish Colonial policy has been, and continues to be, as it really is, the most unwise, impolitic, arbitrary, unjust, the most injurious, both to the interests of the parent state and to the Colonies that ever was contrived or established by any country. Upon this very ground the revolt of all these possessions against the authority of the mother country is justified; and upon these very grounds, the same reasoners in this country call upon Great Britain to interfere and assist these Spanish Colonies in their struggle for independence; they give us a further reason, that under another system these countries in South America will greatly benefit the interests of this country. Yet we are called upon to adopt in our Colonies the same system that Spain pursued in hers, and by which she most unquestionably ruined and impoverished herself and retarded their growth, prosperity, improvement and civilization.

The contradictions adduced by the enemies of

the Colonies are scarcely credible; they tell us of the increasing Slave population of the United States from natural causes, while in the same breath their publications are filled with instances of severity and cruelty, *as they state* them, exceeding what they assert to be perpetrated in the West Indies. The fact, as to the increase of the Slave population of the United States, is, that it proceeds from a great and continued importation of African negroes *, notwithstanding the *public* abolition of the trade. Many of these Slaves are imported from Cuba under foreign flags. The American Colonization Society in a memorial to congress, December 15th, 1818, state very pointedly, that "the temptation to import is stronger than the terrors which the law holds out. It is not now a matter of suspicion but of public notoriety. On the 20th July last 139 negroes were sold by the Sheriff of New Orleans, as having been brought there in violation of the laws of the United States; and on the 26th of August following, 63 were sold at Mellidgeville in Georgia, introduced in a similar manner. Several other instances of a like character have taken place in Louisiana, and the

* Mr. Gladstone in his able letters to Mr. Cropper shews that the importation during the last twenty or thirty years, is *above* 600,000.

trade is still covertly prosecuted in a variety of forms."

A great deal has been said and written about the safety with which emancipation has been carried into effect in the United States of America. There is no analogy whatever between the situation of these states and our West India Colonies. In the latter, the Slaves are to the free in the proportion of 8 to 1. In the former, the free are to the Slaves in the proportion of 7 to 1. Besides, emancipation in the United States is a delusion, and those who bring it forward as a proof of the safety with which emancipation can be carried into effect in our Colonies, must know it to be so. Whenever, or wherever, from the increase of the free population in the Northern States, Slave labour can be dispensed with, and the freedom of Slaves is decreed, one thing is *forgotten*, namely, to oblige the Slaves in that particular state to remain and be made free. To prevent their being so, a regular internal Slave trade is carried on from that state—as it has been, and is carried on, from all the Northern states to the more Southern. The Slaves in families are *separated*, are sold to different masters, driven to cultivate new lands, and drain new pestilential swamps in the Southern territories of the United States—to labour

and by that labour, to drive East India cotton out of the British market. The same Slave in America is sold repeatedly—all his family ties are again and again broken asunder, and the place of his youth, of his manhood, and of his decline, are all and each new and different—worse and severer.—Let Mr. Cropper, if he can, contradict these facts.

Colombia also has been adduced as affording an example of the safety and utility of negroe emancipation. But in this case also the facts are most grievously distorted. The free population in Colombia were in the proportion of almost ten to one to the Slave population, and even now the latter are not wholly emancipated. In the last annual *exposé* of the state of Colombia which reached this country only a few weeks ago, the government distinctly mentioned a fund set apart to defray the expense of the gradual emancipation of the Slaves still within the bounds of the republic. Besides, the Slaves emancipated were declared free by Bolivar in a moment of despair, when he had no other quarter to look to for relief, no other hope of regaining a permanent footing in the country from whence he had been driven, and where all the property he had in the world remained. This took place when he re-landed in Colombia with re-enforce-

ments after his expulsion from that country. But what were the consequences? Anarchy and confusion. The Slaves set free, or obeying the decree of Bolivar, and claiming their freedom, rose against their masters and spread flames, ruin, and desolation over a wide extent of country. From Carraccas to the Gulph of Paria, that beautiful vale extending above 250 miles, formerly cultivated like a garden, was laid waste, so ruined that the traveller might now traverse a space of 50 miles without meeting a human habitation, or a human creature, except some miserable decrepid negroe wandering amidst those scenes of ashes and desolation. At a subsequent period we find Bolivar issuing a decree declaring all those Slaves who did not upon its promulgation join his standards, to be unworthy of liberty, and condemning them and their posterity to perpetual bondage. A great number of the fiercest and most savage emancipated negroes have been cut off in the war against the mother country, and so poor and miserable are those who now remain, that they can be hired at one dollar for ten days' labour, (five pence sterling per day;) the most complete possible proof of the poverty and misery of the country. Another proof of the disorganization occasioned by the Slave emancipation is, that their produce, par-

ticularly cocoa, from bearing a higher price in the market than any other by two or three dollars per cwt., is so much deteriorated in quality as to bring a price much below any other. A long time must elapse before these evils can be repaired.

Amidst all that is imagined, said, and written —amidst all the declamatory harangues poured forth in the senate, and at the popularity-hunting public meetings, about the duty of emancipating the Slaves in our Colonies, not one individual has ever stated how they are to be considered in civil society, after the bonds of personal Slavery shall have been broken. For instance, what rights are they to possess? Are they to become electors, and to be entitled to sit as jurors, judges, legislators?—unless all these, they are still a degraded class, still most helpless, and most wretched.

The United States of America, afford a striking example of this. In the first report of the New York Colonization Society, printed last year, in pages 15, 16, and 17, I find a letter from a free negroe named "*Abraham Cramp*," stating that he represented, a large connection of free people, residing on the Wabash, who were most anxious to embark for Africa or any other country; because, though free from the

bonds of personal Slavery, "their freedom was partial," and "they had no hope that it would ever be otherwise there." The Colonization Society strongly advocate the plan of transporting all the free people of colour in the United States, estimated at 186,446, to Africa, where they would have "a fair prospect of finding a home, with freedom, and equal rights." By carrying them out of the country, they say "a population that adds nothing to the national strength, but diminishes it, would be removed." But they do not stop here; they go farther and state, "One striking injury of this population (blacks) to our country, is seen in the fact that our prisons are filled with coloured culprits. The prisons of this city (New York) exhibit the fact of *six blacks* to *one white*, in proportion to the whole black population of the city."

But of the progress of civilization, or rather the progress of demoralization, amongst emancipated African negroes, the situation of the free coloured population of the State of Connecticut, in the United States, affords a very striking example. In that State the Slaves were emancipated in 1784—forty years ago—a generation it may be said. In the *Christian Spectator*, for November, 1823, we read as follows:—"The number

of prisoners in Newgate prison, in this State in April last, was 110; nearly *one-third* of these were blacks; while the number of the blacks constitutes only about one *thirty-third* part of the whole population. This last fact furnishes unequivocal evidence of the degraded condition of our coloured population, and the connection between ignorance and vice." So much for the boasted superiority of emancipated negroes, as produced by their warmest friends.

Nothing can be more uncandid, ungenerous, and unjust than the whole conduct of the anti-colonial party on this important question, which requires the most serious deliberation and careful thought. To none more important and critical can the mind of a statesman be directed; and none ought to be more carefully, or more patiently examined, without declamation or passion. Instead of adopting this course, however, one directly the reverse is pursued. Declamation, misrepresentation, falsehood, and appeals to passion and prejudice are in every instance opposed to policy, reason, truth, and justice. A question so considered, and so supported, and if carried as proposed, by the former weapons, can never be attended with beneficial results, either to the Mother Country, to the Colonies, or to the

Slaves themselves. The latter in fact would be the severest sufferers, from the result of measures carried into effect in such a spirit.

There is not a single legislative or commercial question, relating to the West India Colonies, that ever is allowed to be discussed or decided upon its own merits. Whatever the subject is, it is constantly mixed up with extraneous matter; with something to irritate—something to mislead—something to inflame. This ought not to be. Political coalitions the most monstrous and opposite are formed to carry the most unjust legislative measures, against these devoted possessions; now, as it would seem, the jeer, the jest, and the scorn, though formerly the glory, the boast, and the strength of Great Britain—possessions to which the keen eyed Napoleon, with Europe prostrate at his feet, looked with envy. The East India Company acting a part the blindest of the blind, calculated upon, and sought the assistance of the parliamentary party called *Saints*, but more properly Anti-colonists, whom they inwardly despise, to second their views. The *anti-colonists*, and those who lead and guide them, eagerly snatched the moment when they imagined East Indian aid would enable them to beat down the West India Colonies, in order that they might raise Colonies in

Africa, and through these, and for these, at an early day, sap the foundations, and ultimately overthrow the gigantic edifice of our Indian empire. The free traders eagerly joined the coalition, thinking to relieve themselves from the embarrassments and losses, inseparable from a trade to India, as at present restricted, and all the three parties, but more especially the second, joined in misleading the public, and calling forth the manufacturing classes to support their selfish schemes, as if they had been beneficial to their immediate interests. The anti-colonists by the influence of their names and professions, set what they call religion and humanity at work throughout the country to inflame the people, to drive the government, to adopt proceedings which, whatever were the intentions of those who proposed them, would in their operation have deprived a large portion of their fellow-subjects of their properties and also of their lives, and have destroyed, at one blow, a fifth part of the whole trade of Great Britain and Ireland.

Such was—such is the mighty and inveterate and obstinate combination which by every art, measure, and effort, assailed and still assails our West India possessions. When the question of the equalization of the duty on Sugar was

first mooted in 1821, the Parliamentary antagonists of the Colonies broached the question of the hard lot of West India Slaves, and last Session of Parliament, as soon as Mr. Whitmore announced his intention of bringing the equalization question before the legislature, Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of a motion connected with the state of the Slaves in our Colonies in the western world, appointing for its coming on a day almost immediately preceding the other. And again, when Mr. Whitmore's motion was delayed, Mr. Wilberforce delayed his also, keeping the precedence always in view. In this manner these subjects were postponed and arranged three or four times last session, till at last, and previous to the motion on the Sugar question, *Mr. Buxton,* a member who had never before shown any of the qualifications required for a legislator or a statesman, with that self-confidence which is the usual accompaniment of superficial knowledge, stepped forward to solve the most difficult and dangerous problem which any legislator ever took in hand—a problem from which the genius of PITT shrunk with dismay * —a problem described in the King's speech the other day most properly as a subject "perplexed

* "To think," said Mr. PITT, "of emancipating the Slaves would be little short of INSANITY."

with difficulties which no sudden effort could disentangle"—and proposed to the House a resolution, purporting that a state of Slavery (established in our Colonies by our forefathers from the time of our first acquisition of them) was repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion—in other words, and free from Parliamentary technicalities, that this country had for two hundred years been, on this point, waging open war against all laws, human and divine—against the word and the will of the Creator of heaven and earth. The House were astonished—shocked at the rashness and falsity of the proposition, and Mr. Canning, in a speech uniting in a singular manner the acute logic of the accomplished orator, with the practical wisdom of the profound statesman, and forming in both respects a striking contrast with the composition by which the motion had been prefaced, exposed the fallacy of that proposition, and saved the West India Colonies, for a time, from destruction, and the Parent State from sorrow and the most formidable dangers.

The time thus gained has not, it is hoped, been gained for no purpose. The eyes of the people of this country are beginning to open to the true nature of the measures and manœuvres which have been practised. The public remark,

that proprietors of East India stock, notwithstanding their loud boasts about religion and humanity, may, like other men, be guided and swayed by interested motives; and, though the British public wish to see abuses, where such exist in the West Indies, rectified and removed, yet they have no idea of sacrificing those valuable outworks of our empire to the theories of would-be statesmen, interested speculators, or intemperate zealots. Such sentiments are rousing men on every side, and will soon overwhelm with disgrace the efforts of the anti-Colonial party.

One thing is self-evident in the proceedings of all those irresponsible and self-constituted societies which start up in London, and spread their branches throughout the country to mislead and agitate it, namely, that their efforts are directed to acquire political power in order to enthral the mind as well as the body, and whenever they do attain either political influence or authority, they rule with a rod of iron, and direct with the utmost virulence their engines against the establishments in church and state, and all who support and defend them. With the money drawn from the pockets of the credulous multitude, deceived by their *professions*, they are busily employed in organizing that ma-

chinery, which if not broken up, will one day, and that not far distant, be employed to forge chains for both the mind and body, marching forward in the strength of their zeal till, like Cromwell, they engrave on the muzzles of their cannon—"Lord, open thou our lips, and our mouths will shew forth thy praise."

The opponents of the Colonies also, like the followers of Cromwell, seem to consider every means lawful and proper that can accelerate their end. There is, accordingly, no dependence to be placed upon their word. They unsay to-day what they most solemnly asserted yesterday. Their declaration now is, that with the abolition of the African Slave trade, they contemplated the early and total emancipation of those Slaves already in our Colonies. Within these few years the language of their leaders was directly the reverse. Mr. Wilberforce most solemnly declared, in the face of all Europe, that he had no such views, "*that it was against the Slave trade, not Slavery that his efforts were directed**" And Mr. Stephen, at

* "The hostility of the West Indians," said Mr. Wilberforce, "was greatly aggravated by an attempt which had been made with considerable success, to confound the trade in Slaves with the emancipation of these already in our Colonies; THE ABOLITIONISTS took all opportunities of proclaiming that it was the Slave trade, NOT SLAVERY, against which they were directing their efforts."—(*Letter to Talleyrand, at Congress in Vienna*, 1814—*page* 21.)

a still later period, treated the insinuation against Mr. Wilberforce to that effect "as a stale and idle charge, as much out of time as out of place," and, only six years ago, the latter gentleman publicly and pointedly declared, that the individual who presumed even to mention or allude to the "emancipation" of the Slaves, might be "*justly branded as an incendiary, and prosecuted to condign punishment, as a mover of sedition**."

These tergiversations, to give them no harsher name, are altogether destructive and subversive of Colonial security and prosperity. A state of uncertainty is even worse than a final decision,

* In a letter printed in an appendix to a memorial to the privy council, Mr. Stephen treats the design "imputed to Mr. Wilberforce and himself, of wishing to emancipate the Slaves, as a stale and idle charge; as much out of time as out of place," and expresses himself indignantly at the idea "of their being thought capable of entertaining a purpose which they had PUBLICLY DISCLAIMED." (*Letter to Judge Smith, January 15th*, 1813.)

Nor did Mr. Stephen stop with this declaration. Subsequent to the insurrection in Barbadoes he said:—"What more natural than that the poor beings most interested in the FICTION (emancipation) should believe and ACT upon it? What more DANGEROUS than to impress them with the notion of a general enfranchisement being intended for them by the promoters of a depending act of parliament, of the benefit of which the masters, full of alarm and consternation, were striving to deprive them? Why, sir, if any member of THIS INSTITUTION, or ANY MAN in the Colonies, ENGAGED in the benevolent work of INSTRUCTING the poor pagan negroes had held out to them the same views, he would have been JUSTLY BRANDED as an INCENDIARY, and prosecuted to condign punishment as a MOVER OF SEDITION."—(*Speech, African Institution, March, 26th*, 1817—*p.* 12.)

however hostile that may be to the present Colonial system. It could scarcely have been credited that men like Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Stephen, would have so soon, and so publicly, declared that all their previous declarations were so many deceptions practised to lull the Colonists to sleep, till stronger means were prepared to work their ruin. Yet so it is. The fact stands recorded before the eyes of all Europe. The cry and the deception now practised, is not emancipation, but "*gradual emancipation.*" What that means, is best ascertained by the voice of their trumpet, the Edinburgh Review, which declares that "THE PRESENT GENERATION must witness the transition of Slavery into free labour*." In "the present generation," it is presumed the critic includes Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Stephen, and if he does, it requires not the spirit of prophecy to fortell that "the transition" contemplated is at hand—at our doors.—The Colonists will do well to remember the words of the oracle; if they do not, these words will

* "Nothing surely can be more UNTRUE than the assertion that emancipation never was heard of till the abolition was obtained. Assuredly the fullest avowal of their ULTIMATE VIEWS was made by those wise and humane individuals, and the DISTINCT NOTICE of their intentions, when they treated as absurd the notion of perpetual bondage, indulged in the prospect of the PRESENT GENERATION witnessing the transition of Slavery into free labour," &c. &c. &c. (*Edin. Rev.* No. 77, page 126.)

soon force themselves upon their recollections amidst tears of anguish and sighs of despair.

But if the Reviewer's period for emancipation is dark and uncertain, that prescribed by the daring spirit of Mr. Buxton, is sufficiently explicit. "In TWENTY or thirty years," says he, "the young, the vigorous, and rising generation will be free, and only the *aged and decrepid* will remain in Slavery." Without stopping to inquire who is to support "the aged and decrepid," I may remark, that Mr. Buxton has either never read a page of history, or studied it to little purpose, or from its pages he could not have failed to learn that six centuries have elapsed since the supply of Slaves in Europe was cut off, by relinquishing the practice of retaining prisoners of war in Slavery; and yet amongst its Christian population, infinitely superior to the African savage in point of intellect, the evil of Slavery continues to exist. Only fifteen years have elapsed since the supply of African Slaves was cut off from our Colonies, and scarcely 200 years since the first of the dregs of the African population were introduced into these possessions as Slaves, and yet "in twenty years" from this date, Mr. Buxton will have all set free—*capable of appreciating and enjoying freedom*,—who can move either tongue

or limb! Why *Mr. Owen's* squares, parallelograms, and man the mere machine of his fancy or his creation, are plausible and reasonable things compared to such delirium and folly. Mr. Buxton would rear up in a day what is the work of ages. That he may pull down the labours of ages in a day I admit. King David and his son Solomon took about 40 years in preparing the funds and the means, and in building and enriching the temple of Jerusalem. The tyrant of Babylon, employed as the weapon of the offended Deity, plundered it in a day—laid it in ashes in a moment!

CHAPTER XII.

Immense stake at issue on this question.—English laws constitute Slaves property.—African Institution may civilize Africa without injuring the West Indies.—Great property of West India proprietors.—Productive industry of our Colonies, contrasted with that of the Mother Country and other places.—France and United States watching our conduct, and rejoicing at our errors.—Dangerous state of the Colonies.—Prompt and decided measures necessary for their preservation.—Government of the Colonies must not be taken out of the hands of the executive government.—Concluding observations.—Further exposure of the system of espionage and calumny carried on by the anti-Colonists.—Mr. Stephen's new publication—Negroe Slavery—general features of it.

THE point at issue in reference to the measures clamoured for in this country is, whether Great Britain shall keep or lose her Colonies. If she is determined to keep them she must govern them in a constitutional manner, and not according to the intermeddling theories of indi-

viduals in this country, who, however honest their intentions may be, are completely ignorant of the nature of the population of the Colonies, or the way to govern and direct them, so as to insure what is most beneficial either to themselves or to the country. The mighty power of Great Britain may, indeed, crush insurrection in the smaller Islands; but should more extensive insurrections take place, to crush these is doing little, in fact nothing, as she would then only rule over discontented and ferocious subjects, over a country laid in ashes. The property once destroyed, can never be replaced by Great Britain. Slaves she cannot obtain, and no man in this country will again, after such a catastrophe, advance one shilling to rebuild works or restore cultivation, even could the negroes once emancipated through revolt, be again restored to subjection. The master's property destroyed or ruined, the emancipated Slave will have neither capital nor credit, and what trifling cultivation may be carried on in coffee, cocoa, or cotton, will unquestionably be carried on for the benefit of some other power than Great Britain. The whole trade of the West India Islands would, under such circumstances, go into the hands of the United States, our maritime rival. Not

one hogshead of Sugar would, under such circumstances, come to this country. St. Domingo is a beacon placed before our eyes, and we must be blind, indeed, if we do not see it, and seeing it, culpable—criminal, if we do not take warning from it. The immense capital vested in the West India Colonies, and applied to the purpose of cultivation, is not like mercantile capital, which, when shut out from one port or country, can be turned into another channel. No! the property in question is not transferable like mercantile capital, and when lost can not be replaced.

The stake at issue is immense. Two hundred millions of real property, an annual trade of 15 millions in exports and imports, an annual income of ten millions obtained from these Colonies by various persons in this country and spent in it; and the comfort and progressive improvement of a population of 800,000 rude Africans or their progeny, the personal safety of 100,000 of our fellow subjects and their children, and all the vast interests which in this country depend upon their connection with these possessions, may be compromised by one rash act, and will inevitably be sacrificed by a continuation of the present inconsiderate clamour. The enfranchisement of the Slaves in our Colonies,

even were that enfranchisement practicable, cannot be precipitated. Any attempt to do so must either retard it or produce a most destructive convulsion. Many centuries, as has already been observed, elapsed after the supply of Slaves in European kingdoms had been cut off, before the progeny of these Slaves were raised to the rank of free men. Only fifteen years have elapsed since the African supply was cut off from our Colonies. Generations must elapse before the last imported are fit to receive freedom, or to appreciate what it means. No one will maintain that the negroe of Africa is endowed with equal capabilities, mental or corporeal, to those of the former *villeins* in Europe, or any part of her hardy population, nor can the improvement of the former be expected to be more rapid than that of the latter. The melioration of the condition of the Slaves in our Colonies was, however, proceeding with rapid strides, till the present uncalled for measures endangered the whole. There could not be a doubt that if left undisturbed the foundation would be laid, and the completion of emancipation be witnessed with safety and security, and in a great deal less time than by the dangerous measures now proposed, and that the silent and progressive improvements of all kinds going on in the West

Indies, would ultimately accomplish the object. Done in this manner also, it would be done without injustice or danger to the master, because it would be done by himself. Unless accomplished in this manner, it can only be brought about through injustice, misery, and destruction to every party interested or connected with it.

"The West Indians," says Mr. Clarkson, "in consequence of having legislated upon principles which are at variance with those upon which the laws of England are founded, have forfeited all their charters. The Mother Country has therefore *the right to withdraw* these charters whenever she pleases, and substitute such others as she may think proper *." The principles here advanced and recommended are most pernicious, arbitrary, and destructive. It is not true that the Colonies legislate contrary to the laws of England. Those laws established the Colonies and all that is at present in them as they are. The Colonists are British subjects. They possess charters and rights which the Mother Country cannot abrogate, and property which she cannot take away without a gross violation of all justice. Take for example Jamaica. King Charles II. by proclamation declared "that all the children of His Majesty's free born subjects of England, to be

* Clarkson's "*Thoughts*," page 12.

born in Jamaica, shall, from their respective births be reputed to be and *shall be* FREE DENIZENS OF ENGLAND, *and shall have the same privileges to all intents and purposes,* as His Majesty's free born subjects of England*." These are privileges, this is a charter which the Mother Country cannot justly do away. She may as well, nay with more propriety, take away Mr. Clarkson's privileges, because in some instances he refuses to be amenable to, or to regulate his religious belief by the established laws of England.

But if the Mother Country cannot justly infringe civil and political rights and privileges, still less can she meddle with that which she herself has constituted property, without the consent of the owners thereof, and without full and complete indemnification for what she may wish to take, to change, or to deteriorate. *Mr. Reeves,* law clerk to the committee of privy council, 1789, by their desire and for their guidance drew up in his legal capacity, an able paper, from which the following is an important extract. " The leading idea in the negroe system of jurisprudence, is that which was put in the minds of those interested in its formation; namely, that *negroes were property,* and a species of pro-

* Proclamation, Whitehall, December 14th, in the 30th year of his reign.

perty that needed a vigorous and vigilant regulation. With the exception of Nevis, Slaves are considered as *inheritances,* and are accordingly subject to the incidents of *real property,* &c. The property in Slaves *is recognised by the* LAWS OF ENGLAND. By the stat. 5th Geo. II. c. 7, they are expressly subjected to payment of debts as CHATTELS; and since, by stat. 13th, Geo. III. c. 14, they may be *mortgaged,* even to a foreigner, as freehold estate *." It would be waste of words to comment on laws so plain. On these the Colonists take their stand, and from that ground they repel the foul slanders of their accusers, that they are robbers, *resetters* †, law contemners, and law violaters. When the Mother Country in the plenitude of her power and wisdom shall declare negroes to be no longer property *she must pay* the value of what she has previously declared to be, and taught her subjects to consider as property. Mr. Clarkson and his associates may declaim as long and as much as they please, but they cannot alter the laws of England by slanders and misrepresentations.

The doctrine propogated, that Africa cannot be civilized while the West Indies exist as they

* Report Committee Privy Council 1789, part 3.

† A strong term in the Scotch law signifying receivers of stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen.

are, is most mischievous and untrue. This is, indeed, not generally said in direct terms, but it is the natural and unavoidable inference from what is said. Instead of the latter being any hindrance to the civilization of the former, they may be made to accelerate that object greatly. The provisions, and live stock, with which Africa, on the Western coast abounds, may be carried to supply the wants of our West India Colonies, without depending upon, and having recourse to the United States. There is scarcely a tropical production known, that is not to be found most abundant in Northern Central Africa; more especially very fine cotton, indigo, gums, dye-woods, and dye-stuffs, coffee, &c. For all these we pay large sums to Foreign powers. The whole or a very large portion of each, which Britain requires, may be supplied from Africa, without in the smallest degree injuring, or interfering with the concerns of our West India Colonies. The culture of Sugar alone, could interfere with these possessions, but the population of Africa are too rude, and too poor to enter upon the cultivation of Sugar for a long time to come, nor would it be adviseable to turn their attention to it till more enlightened and civilized.

There are only two modes by which Africa can

be civilized and enlightened, or raised from her present degraded state, to listen to, or receive the rudiments of knowledge and Christian truth. The first is, by teaching her princes that they will receive more for the produce of their soil, than for the labourers who ought to cultivate it; but whom these princes now sell to cultivate foreign regions, or inhumanly put to death. Could this be done, the African authorities would soon put an end to the Slave trade (it cannot be effected without their cordial co-operation), when the rudiments of civilization and social order would be planted amongst the degraded population, and the Slaves by degrees, as in other countries, would rise to the rank of free men. So many obstacles, however, remain in the way of any such general operation of this system, as can accomplish this object, that success may well be despaired of. It may, however, prove a powerful auxiliary. The second mode is conquest by some formidable civilized power, who with her own strength and resources, would organize, as Britain has done in India, the disorganized and degraded elements of social order in Africa, and make these subdue the more barbarous and rude. This would prove the speediest, and most secure way to put down the Slave trade, and Slavery in Africa; and to restrain, and finally to subdue,

those barbarous customs and passions which occasion both. From the British settlements in Africa conquest must soon proceed with rapid strides. The comforts of civilized life, growing in her settlements, will excite the cupidity of savages. They will attack, she will repel, conquer, and subdue, till in Africa her word will be heard, and her authority dreaded and obeyed, in the remotest part of that country. But all these things may be carried on and effected without sacrificing our West India Colonies. As we light up knowledge and civilization in Africa, we need not extinguish both in the islands of the Charaibbean Ocean, and the Gulph of Mexico. However much it may be lamented, still there is too much reason to fear that like other barbarians, the ignorant population of Africa, can only be raised to the blessings and advantages of freedom through personal Slavery, and those of them are the most likely to reach that desirable point who may be placed under the authority of Christian masters.

Another and fatal source of error in those who project plans for the government of negroes is, that they suppose and believe that the mental and corporeal powers of the inhabitants of the torrid zone, but more especially African negroes, are equal to those of the hardy population of

the more Northern portion of the temperate zone, where the rigours of the seasons compel them to be industrious and active. The negroe —the inhabitant of the torrid zone, has no such excitement. He is ignorant of the luxuries or comforts of civilized life; the spontaneous productions of his soil and climate, supply his simple wants. He lives regardless of the future, and although the introduction of civilization, knowledge, and above all christian knowledge, if these can be introduced, would unquestionably work a great change in his character, conduct, and pursuits, still he will lag *far behind* the active and intelligent native of Europe, in all that exalts and enobles mankind.

What is it that has rendered the scheme for the total abolition of the Slave trade ineffectual? It is that Europe has acted upon false data, with regard to the state of Africa, and the African character; and that falsehood, misrepresentation, and declamation, were substituted for reason, and truth. What will render the plans for the melioration of the Slaves in our Colonies, not only abortive, but attended with the deepest injury to themselves and this country? The same system of declamation, falsehood, and misrepresentation, which leads the mind astray from the safe path, and makes it reject the counsels of expe-

rience, and the advice of those who are the most capable of giving advice, from their intimate knowledge of all the facts and bearings of the question. Mere honest intentions will not do in such a case. The best, when blindly impelled, may produce the most mischievous consequences. No peaceful or prosperous results can ever flow from plans taken up and formed upon interested principles, exaggeration, misrepresentation, and falsehood. Yet all these are, at present, set in array against our Colonies, and under their influence it is attempted to direct and govern them.

And who, let me here ask, are the West India Body, who are thus grossly calumniated and arrogantly trampled upon? Mr. Colquhoun calculated the value of the property in Great Britain to be £2,700,000,000, and in the whole British empire to be £4,000,000,000. The property in the West India Colonies cannot be less than £200,000,000, and if we look at those in this country, who are really the owners of that property, and consider what property they have besides in this country, we shall find that the West India interest possess, at the lowest valuation, *above one-eighth* part of the property of the United Kingdom. Shall this interest be trodden under foot by irresponsible, self-con-

stituted, prejudiced, interested, and fanatical societies, or patiently submit to be branded as they have been branded by the champions of these societies, as "*the petty, contumacious, lawgivers—the white mob—the white oppressors—the white savages—liars—vipers—monsters—animals**" &c. &c. No!

Every projected melioration of the state of the bondmen in our Colonies, to be effectual and beneficial, must be, and can only be carried into effect by the vigilance of the executive government and the authority of the Colonial legislatures, and, above all, by and with the cordial co-operation and consent of the masters. To calumniate and revile these is not the way to obtain that co-operation. Leave it to them, to the government, and to time, and the work—the good is done. Any interference by intermediate, irresponsible authority, can only retard it and produce mischief. Laws enacted in this country for possessions 4000 miles distant, will be more apt to be evaded and abused than laws framed in those possessions.

Mr. Cropper and his friends state that "if there is any difference, our power is more firm over the East India population, than over that of

* See Reports and publications of the African Institution.—*Reasons for a Registry, &c. &c.*

the West." To this assertion I at once answer—no. Looking only at the numerical strength, it is 100 times firmer over the latter than over the former. But when we reflect that the population of the West India Colonies, with the exception of Jamaica, dwell in insulated communities of from 20,000 to 40,000, and only 4,000 miles distant from the Mother Country which controuls the ocean that surrounds them, and that the East India population, amounting to 120,000,000 dwell condensed and in constant and easy communication with each other, and that this vast population is 20,000 miles distant from us, it must be evident that our hold over the West Indies is stronger than our hold over the East, in the proportion of 1000 to one. With a population hostile to us from religious principles, hating us as foreigners and masters, and with 150,000 native troops, armed and disciplined in the European art of war, it is clear, to use the words of the Edinburgh Review, that we may lose our Indian empire as quickly as "*a frigate or a fort.*" But the West Indies (keep us only clear of negro insurrection and consequent destruction of property) we must continue to govern, while we rear our heads independent amongst independent nations.

In turning our attention to the productive la-

bour of 78,000 free people of colour in our West India Colonies, it may be asked where is it? Can the enemies of the Colonies point out, in any one island, the article that the coloured free population, by agricultural labour, raise for exportation to benefit the shipping, commerce, or revenue of the parent state? If they can, let them do so, even from their favourite "*farm of experiment*"—TRINIDAD*." In Cuba a great mass of the population are free, and yet I believe I may safely assert, that the whole exportable produce of that island is produced by the labour of Slaves. In the Brazils I believe the fact will be found to be the same.

In turning our attention to the productive industry of the East, as contrasted with that of the West, it will be found, by looking at the exports and imports of each, that 841,000 persons in the West Indies produce more than 120,000,000 of people do in the East. If we compare the productive industry of the emancipated blacks in St. Domingo, we perceive that it sinks into nothing before the productive industry of the Slaves in our Colonies, and

* On this point I wish to be understood as speaking generally. I am aware that a few individuals here and there cultivate a little coffee and cotton, but the quantity is so small, as scarcely to deserve notice. Their doing so, also shews that there is no law to prevent them, nor any hinderance but their own indolence.

taking the difference of population into account, is nearly as *eight* to *one* in exports, and *four* to *one* in imports. And if we compare the productive industry of the population of our West India Colonies with that of 17,000,000 of people in South America, we shall find that the former is very nearly equal to the latter, if it does not exceed it. Nay more, if we take the exports and imports of the United Kingdom, and its population, and contrast them with the exports and imports of our West India Colonies, and their population, we shall find, that with a population of only one twenty-fourth part, the latter import one-sixth and export above one-fourth of the amount that the former does. If we contrast the imports and exports of Ireland with the imports and exports of the West Indies, we shall find that the latter, with only *one-eighth* of the population, export *one-third* more produce, and import almost as much as Ireland. If we carry the contrast to the United States, we shall find that, with a population of only *one-thirteenth part*, the West India Colonies export nearly as much, and import, for internal use alone, to the extent of about one half the the import of these active commercial states. In proportion to the exports and imports of our North American Colonies, the productive industry of our West India Colonies, with a population

of less than one-half, amounts in exports to *five times* the other, and in imports *to triple*. And to take another, perhaps more striking point of comparison, the following tables will place these points in a clearer point of view.

Comparative exports and imports, from the British and American official financial Report, for 1823; and from the Report of the Foreign Trade Committee, and East India Report, &c.

	Imports from all parts.	Exports to all parts of Britain. prod. & manuf.	Population.
Great Britain and Ireland * ..	£30,500,000	£36,968,963	20,000,000
Retained of imports 21,300,000		—	—
West India Colonies †.....	7,000,000	10,000,000	841,000
Do. retained and consumed ..	5,000,000	—	—
Ireland, imports nearly all retained and consumed	6,771,607	7,871,237	7,000,000
West India Colonies	7,000,000	10,000,000	841,000

UNITED STATES ‡.

	Imports from all parts.	Exports to all parts of America prod. & manuf.	Population.
Imports retained and consumed	£11,340,091	£10,609,534	11,000,000
West India Colonies retained and consumed	5,000,000	10,000,000	841,000

EAST

* The British imports are taken at the official valuation—the exports at the *declared* value, because in the official value, there is evidently a prodigious error, thus—the official value of cotton goods exported, is £26,920,135, but the *declared* value only £14,534,253.

† In this sum I include the exports and imports, to and from the United States, and the British North American Colonies. The estimation is rather below than above the mark. Thus the average exports from Britain to the British West Indies are £5,800,000, and the imports from the United States and British North America certainly exceed £1,200,000 annually.

‡ In this comparative statement I have kept to the amount of native produce and manufactures exported, and foreign imports retained for home or internal consumption. The exports of foreign goods were £6,144,355. The dollar is estimated at 4*s*. 6*d*.

EAST INDIES.

	Imports from all parts.	Exports to all parts.	Population.
China	£1,701,405	£2,128,745	
United States	876,268	1,446,488	
Britain, Official Value	2,900,000	3,391,160	
Persian and Arabian Gulphs and Eastern Isles	1,500,000	1,600,000	
Total *	£6,987,673	£8,566,393	120,000,000
West India Colonies	7,000,000	10,000,000	841,000

SOUTH AMERICA.—BRITISH TRADE.

Average three years ending 1820.

	Exports to.	Imports from.
Brazils	£2,683,201	£1,075,422
Spanish America, direct trade	733,491	308,303
Do. Foreign West Indies	1,303,506	807,592
Do. by Jamaica, Bahamas, &c.	2,382,000	—
Total	£7,192,108	£2,191,117

N. B. The three first returns are from Parliamentary Paper, No. 274, Session 1822.—The next estimated from different returns. The direct trade to South America has increased since that period, but then the circuitous trade, by way of Jamaica, has proportionably decreased. What is stated under the head Foreign West Indies, includes Hayti, and, I presume, the Spanish possessions, through the medium of St. Thomas. The great difference between the exports and imports, arises no doubt from

* Of the amount to the three last mentioned places I have at present no certain *data*. But I believe the sum stated is not far from the mark. The exports to the Arabian and Persian Gulphs from Bengal, were £111,685; and the total exports from Bengal, to all parts by sea £3,500,000. The exports of India to countries West of the Indus and North of the Himmaleyah chain, are very uncertain, but not very great. Still, with considerable allowance for these quarters, the exports and imports of Hindostan, are only on a par with the exports and imports of the British West Indies.

from the returns being made in bills and specie, and even that specie is raised by the labour of Slaves. Contrasted with the West Indies, the trade stands thus :—

	Exports, Pro.	Imports.	Population.
All South America	£ 2,191,117	£ 7,102,198	17,000,000
West India Colonies	10,000,000	5,000,000	841,000
(Imports retained.)			

The bare fact of the immense productive industry of the population of the British West Indies, as compared to that of other countries, negatives, in the most unanswerable manner, all the charges which their enemies bring against them. Oppression, cruelty, injustice, and bad government, have, in every country and in every age, destroyed the productive industry of every people.

In contemplating the possible loss of our Eastern or Western empire, how greatly and how proudly does the scale preponderate on the side of our West India Colonies? Were India to be lost to us, we should only lose the value of the exports to it for one or two years, not exceeding seven or eight millions, allowing that all were retained in India, and no part of the stock on hand or debts outstanding to be preserved or recovered. The destruction of our power in the West Indies, on the other hand, would be followed by the total destruction of all mercantile business, stock, and debts, and these, taken at

only two years, would be at least 15 millions of mercantile property; while, in agricultural property, 200 millions would be totally and irretrievably swept away. This contrast and this consideration ought to make Great Britain pause and retrace, while she yet may retrace her footsteps.

There is also this difference between the exports from Great Britain to the West Indies and to the East Indies, that less than *one-fourth* of the exports to the former are re-shipped to the Spanish settlements, while *three-fourths* of the exports to the latter are re-shipped to the Eastern islands.

The governments and people both of France and of the United States, but more especially the latter, are rejoicing at the measures pursued and recommended to be pursued in this country towards our fine Colonial possessions. They know and calculate if we do not and will not, that these measures, if persevered in, must produce the destruction of these possessions, and through them the overthrow of that political strength and naval and commercial rivalry and greatness which they oppose and fear. The United States, and Mr. Cropper and his American commercial friends (hence the queries sent to America, hence the defences and speculations

and writings of Mr. Cropper) know well that the British name, and capital, and credit, once beaten down in the West Indies, whatever commercial advantages may at a future day be reaped from these possessions, will be thrown exclusively and irretrievably into their hands. We treat too lightly the progress which the Americans are making in their internal manufactures. They come into competition with us in several articles in the Colonial markets. I may state as a fact, that in St. Domingo they have a preference and undersell us with soap, and of late merchants in Liverpool, engaged in that trade, have been obliged to put up the soap they export to St. Domingo in the same manner as the Americans, in order to insure its introduction into the market. The rising manufactures of the United States may be coarser than ours, but, if they are cheaper, the quality will be no objection to a half-civilized African, more especially as these Americans bring the kind of coarse articles, such as salt fish, boards, &c. which these rude people most prize; and if the Slaves in our Colonies are led to emancipate themselves by force from the British sceptre, they will be led to give to the United States the preference in trade, on account of the hatred they will bear against this nation.

Will this country not open her eyes to these facts, and to the appalling catastrophe which the ignorance and presumption of some men are endeavouring to bring upon our Colonies. We have no middle course to steer. We cannot advance a certain length, and when we have discovered that we are in the wrong path, then turn back and endeavour to regain the right one. No! we cannot do this. Entered fairly in the course of error, we must be hurried along from bad to worse. The attempts then made to roll back the tide of anarchy and destruction, will but tend to accelerate the approach, and render more fatal the operation of these evils. British property, the British name, and European civilization, will vanish in the tempest which folly and philanthropy have raised in the West Indies; and the shock it will produce, to use the words of the Edinburgh Review, when reason guided its pen, will "*shake to its base the whole Western wing of the European community, and burst asunder the bonds which now hold the nations together.*"

Without Colonies we cannot keep or maintain a navy. Without a navy we cannot retain the dominion of the seas; the possession of which power can alone enable us to rear our head as the umpire of nations, the invincible

protector of liberty, justice, and civilization amongst our own subjects, or the nations of the earth. The consequences of adopting the schemes of the anti-colonial party must prove most fatal. The shock which the loss of these possessions will create, will shake commerce to its foundations—deeply wound our recovering agricultural interests, impair the national credit, because it wounds most deeply the national strength, destroy the confidence of the country in the present administration, perhaps bring into power an *anti-colonial* party, in whom this commercial nation never could repose confidence, and who, from ignorance of her concerns, would lead her to become the laughing stock, and, at last, the prey of Europe.

The prospect before the West India Colonies, is most disheartening and most appalling. The discussions in the House of Commons, arising from the undigested schemes of Mr. Buxton, have sown the seeds of discord between the master and the Slave, and implanted insubordination deeply and strongly in the minds of the latter throughout the West Indies. The facts are indisputable. Mr. Buxton's rashness has produced a fatal insurrection in Demerara, attempts to rebel in Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada, and last, and the

most alarming of all, a deep plan for revolt in the great and important Colony, where the Slaves for centuries have remained faithful and obedient to their masters, and few can calculate the immense sacrifices which the Mother Country may be called upon to make to preserve, as appendages to her crown, these possessions. They can no longer assist themselves. The burden must now fall exclusively upon the parent state. Insurrection, devastation, and carnage, are not the only evils to which the Colonies are exposed by the projected measures. Their annihilation is certain, even without these awful scourges, unless the contemplated measures are abandoned. By these, their capital and their credit are annihilated. Two hundred millions of property, once transferable as the best security, is now reduced to a thing without a name—the pound sterling is reduced to a shilling, and that shilling, we are told, ought, or is to depend upon the will, and humanity, and *charity* of an anti-colonial *faction,* who boldly and unblushingly proclaim, that even to that miserable pittance (the wreck of their former fortunes) the West India Colonists hold "no legal title." Will the people of Great Britain not open their eyes to the guilt, the folly, the shame, and the danger of such monstrous doctrines.

The most prompt, clear and decided measures and declarations on the part of the British government can alone remedy the evils and remove, if it is not too late to remove, the danger. Unless his capital is rendered secure, and his credit restored, even if it is possible to place the latter upon the footing on which it formerly stood, all further improvement in the West Indies is out of the question; nor is this all, cultivation must diminish, perhaps in many instances cease, for want of the funds to carry it on, and the Slaves be left to poverty and starvation, because the master has neither funds, credit, nor supplies to support or relieve them. This is no exaggerated picture. It is indeed but a faint outline of the truth. I know properties which at this moment have neither a board nor a stave to make casks in which to put the Sugar they are about to make, nor the money nor the credit to procure them. The returns from the Colonies instead of being laid out in improvements will be kept by the mortgagee, and who can blame him?

"Judge not lest ye be judged"—and "with the measure wherewith ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," says the Highest Authority. By violating this commandment, Mr. Buxton, and Mr. Smith, and Mr. Cropper, have subjected

themselves to be judged; and though I do not mean to say that their objects are interested, yet, situated as they are in business, it ought to excite in their minds no surprise, if their fellow subjects, *less perfect* than they are, should suppose them to be actuated by similar selfish motives to those, which they assert, govern the actions of others, namely, private interest and a love of gain. Mr. Buxton stands in the foremost ranks to declaim against, and denounce what he calls a West India monopoly, while at the very moment he, as a brewer, is concerned in a trade which, as it is at present constituted, forms the greatest monopoly, and under the most galling and grinding fetters, ever witnessed in any country. *Mr. William Smith* of Norwich, one of the bitterest of the enemies of the Colonies, adopts the same strain of argument and pursues the same line of conduct, at the moment when (if public report speaks true) he himself, or a *branch of his family*, with other colleagues, as distillers for the English market, hold and participate in one of the most injurious monopolies in the spirit trade that ever existed, to the injury of the revenue, the health and morals of the nation; from which they derive an *extra* gain of £600,000 per annum; by which they dictate the price of spirits to the people, and *may* dictate the price of grain

to the agriculturist, in the face, and in defiance of the efforts of this mighty and intelligent nation. It is this monopoly, this enormous gain, which enables them to buy up with £10,000 to each, every distiller in Scotland, who may enter for the English market. The Parliamentary commissioners inform us that the system here alluded to, is "*notorious*." Are our West India Colonists suffering every distress to be trampled upon by monopolists like these? Neither of these gentlemen can deny, more especially the latter, these important facts. They stand incontrovertible, upon official investigation, and most fortunately, the eyes of the agricultural and landed interests of this country are now opened to the enormity of these abuses. The benefit to our agricultural interests by *rectifying* these would be incalculable; and granting that the monopoly for the West India Colonial interests were true, as it is not, still, Mr. Buxton, and Mr. William Smith, ought to be the last men in Britain to declaim against it, at least till they had washed their hands clear of all monopolies, by which the revenues of their country, and the interests, health and morals, of their countrymen directly or indirectly suffer.

Mr. Smith, endowed like other men, with the principles of worldly wisdom, perhaps calculates

that if he can overthrow the West India Colonies, and thereby take 7,000,000 gallons of Rum out of the British market, a greater quantity of British spirits, distilled by the *fifteen* monopolists in Great Britain, would be consumed, and a greater sum put into their pockets annually. Mr. Buxton as a brewer, calculates perhaps in the same way, and for a similar object. And Mr. Cropper may conceive that by ruining the West India Colonies, he will benefit the trade and speculations of *his* American friends in the *Eastern States.* Whether such are the motives of these gentlemen, or not, I leave to the public and to their own consciences to determine. The secret springs which put in activity men's humanity, are not always hidden and imperceptible.

But whatever animadversions may be called for by conduct such as that to which I have alluded, it becomes of minor importance when contrasted with the conduct and proceedings of irresponsible societies, and their secret prompters and advisers. It is impossible to consider these without the deepest indignation, and a well-grounded fear for our individual safety, and our national independence. The public voice ascribes the first station in one of these societies to Mr. James Stephen, a Master in Chancery. His practice

should teach him what justice, what equity is. Standing upon constitutional grounds, and claiming the privileges of a British subject, I would ask who is Mr. Stephen—what in the eye of the British constitution is the African Institution, or the Abolition Committee, or any other association who may combine, in order to agitate and irritate the public mind? Where is the law that recognizes or invests them with powers and privileges beyond any one, even the meanest of their fellow subjects; or where is the statute to which they are amenable for their public conduct, should they, by their proceedings, bring loss and ruin upon their country? There is none. The Earl of Liverpool we know, and Earl Bathurst we know. They are his majesty's ministers, constitutionally chosen, and constitutionally appointed, and amenable to that constitution under which we live, for all their conduct and all their proceedings, and all their advice. They are, readily and easily tangible, if they do what is wrong—if they neglect their duty, and endanger our property, our liberties, or our lives. The African Institution and Mr. Stephen and their other champions have no such responsibility. Their conduct, their proceedings, and their counsels, may plunge the empire, as they have plunged the West India Colonies, into anarchy

and civil war, and yet no law can reach them, to punish the offence. And shall such men and such societies be allowed to beard the government of this great and mighty nation to mingle, as it is asserted they presume to do in measures which ought to come within the province of the ministerial advisers of the crown alone; and to dictate and give counsel with respect to the government of the most important portions of our empire? Surely not. The principle is so monstrous, and unconstitutional, and dangerous, that it requires only to be glanced at, to be put down by a general expression of scorn and indignation. The ministers of this country must not be trammelled by such intruders and irresponsible advisers.

In the measures recommended by the anti-colonists in this country, and which they have had the influence to induce the government to pursue in order to put down the Slave trade, we have seen that they have been wrong. The measures have had a contrary effect. Half of the sums which we have paid to Foreign States, in order to induce them to abandon a trade which it is their interest to continue, if it had been expended in cherishing and supporting our Colonies by *bounties on their produce* when exported, in order to enable these Colonies to

compete with, and undersell the foreign Colonial cultivator in the European market, would have done more to put an end to the Slave trade, than all the decrees and denunciations of all the potentates and powers of Europe. A different policy has been adopted. Our Colonies have been trampled in the dust. Foreign nations and Sierra Leone contractors and agents have pocketed our money by millions, and the former, while they have filled their Colonies with Slaves, have laughed in their sleeve, and sneered at our credulity.

The question for this country now to determine, is not whether she shall invest capital in Slave Colonies, by establishing Slavery in them, but whether she shall preserve from destruction and misery the Slaves and their masters which she has encouraged to settle in her Colonies. This is the point to be kept in view. It may have been very wrong and very impolitic, considering the circumstances which have occurred and are occurring in the world, to have vested British capital in Slaves and Slave cultivation. But it has been done. Done by the advice of the greatest and wisest statesmen that Great Britain has possessed. I have no wish to see this country establish new Slave Colonies, but I have no wish to see her destroy and ruin

the old. Protection and judicious management may, after a lapse of ages, procure the emancipation of the Slaves in our Colonies, without danger to their masters or loss to the country of the capital there invested, and without danger to the negroes themselves. But when that day comes, Great Britain must look to some other quarter of the world than that inhabited by her emancipated Slaves for the supply of Sugar which she receives, and the valuable trade which she at present carries on with that quarter of the world*. They may raise from the soil what tropical productions will supply their few wants, as other indolent natives of the torrid zone do, but they will raise no more.

The cultivation of Sugar at no season can be carried on by fits and starts, as the whim and caprice of freed negroes may direct. The work, more especially during crop, must be carried on with regularity and without intermission. The season will not wait, and a week lost in March cannot be made up in June. The cane not taken off becomes of little use when the rains set in, and the attempt to take it off then, could

* Even the Emancipation Committee admit the truth of this. "The Browns," says the scribe of that body, "consider themselves as rising in rank to the whites, and FREE NEGROES never think of hiring themselves to the planters to work in the field."—*Negroe Slavery, page* 52.

it even be done, would be attended with a loss to the ensuing crop of the most serious kind. The master must have it in his power to carry on the work when and as he directs, not as his labourers please and direct him, otherwise the cultivation of Sugar, except in small quantities, as it is cultivated and *spoiled* in the East, must stand still, or be rendered extremely unproductive.

But if this country is determined that the Slaves in the West Indies shall be *immediately* emancipated, there is but one way by which it can be done consistently with justice or with the smallest prospect of success. Let the nation assume the whole property in the Colonies as her own—pay from the proceeds of the labour of the Slaves (then working to pay the expense of their freedom) in annual instalments, the value of the property so assumed, with interest, till the whole amount is liquidated. Let this be the course with respect to the independent proprietor, and let those merchants who have advanced money on mortgages hold possession of the properties and carry on the business as they do now, till their claims are liquidated, when they may become the agents of government till the sums due to the proprietor shall be also paid. The negroes under such a system would be less inclined to revolt

and insubordination, for they would look upon the King as their master, whose power they consider it would be impracticable to resist. Hence they would more readily yield obedience to mandates emanating from him. If any one, after the property was lodged under the national guarantee, should chuse to re-purchase his share and to incur the future risks, then the nation would be relieved of so much of her load. Then also under such a system, every one would have an opportunity of shewing his philanthropy by supporting restrictive systems, and large bounties to keep up the price of Colonial produce, in order that the nation might the more speedily redeem her guarantee. It cannot be doubted that all our present *anti-colonists* would contribute most cheerfully by paying a high price for Sugar, when by doing so, they would be liberating 800,000 persons from the chains of Slavery. No doubt this scheme presents some difficulties, but it is simple, and presents fewer difficulties than any other. In every other way in which the *attempt* at immediate emancipation may be made, injustice will be done to those interested, either by endangering or deteriorating the value of their property, or both.

On the shoulders of the executive government of Great Britain rest the fate, and the

fortune of the Colonies. The executive government therefore, by their accredited and responsible servants, can alone lay before the British public such a full and fair representation of the situation of these valuable possessions, as it is safe for Great Britain to attend to, in regulating her conduct towards them. The work must not be taken out of the hands of the executive government. If the government deceives or misleads the public, an awful responsibility rests on its head, and the public know a safe and constitutional course to obtain redress. The nation has no such alternative with irresponsible associations, or the secret, or the interested calumniator.

To calumniate and defame the character of the West Indians is now become a regularly organized system, and it is said a profitable trade. It is now looked forward to as the road to preferment, wealth and honours, and whether the active members of the African Institution know this or not I will not pretend to determine, but the fact is no less certain, that by the cheap traffic of humanity carried on through that institution, men in our Colonies or immediately connected with them are taught, and teach others to look forward to, and to expect, through the influence of that body with the government of the parent

state, preferments or appointments of higher and more lucrative kinds. Without fear of contradiction I assert this to be the case, and the terrible consequences which must result from the operation of a system like this, may be conceived, but cannot be described. It is probable these pages may find their way to the Colonies, and if they do, they *may* come into the hands of some individuals of the character and stamp I mention, and if they do, it is to be hoped they will serve to convince them that they and their operations are known, and that a tremendous exposure under their own hands, unless their system is abandoned, will one day or other be laid before the eyes of the British empire. Let them not deceive themselves. The motives which impel them, and which *in writing they avow*, to mislead or to please, to gratify or to assist, the active directors of the African Institution in their schemes, will not always remain hidden.—From more places than *Dominica*, evidence against themselves can be furnished, *and under their own hands.*

Let the executive government of this country be on their guard against a system which, while it undermines their influence and authority, saps the foundations of Colonial security. The way to check and destroy the effects of this danger-

ous system is obvious and simple. Let the communications of these accusers of their brethren be submitted entirely and fairly by the African Institution to the public, and to the executive government, and by the latter be transmitted to their accredited governors (passed over in the first instance) for their investigation and report: let this uniformly be done, as in the following instance, and the public may rest assured that they will not hear so much about Colonial misery and oppression *. If the object

* LETTER FROM GOVERNOR BENTINCK.

" King's-House, Berbice, May 26, 1817,

" My Lord—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatch of the 11th of January last, inclosing a document, said to contain a representation of the present state of Berbice.

" Suspecting the source of this representation, and viewing its obvious tendency, I enquired of Mr. Wray, whether he knew any thing of the matter; and he confessed to me, that the same memorandum had been framed by others, partly from letters written by him to Messrs. Macaulay and Walker, the former secretary, and the latter agent, of the commissioners of crown estates here; and partly from other letters, ' as to the writer of which Mr. Wray had nothing to say.'

" I pursued my inquiries of this gentleman, and endeavoured to obtain as much of his knowledge as I could, in order, if possible, to detect and punish the aggressors.

" Having minuted the information, I referred it to the individuals respectively named, and their answers having come in, I have directed the Fiscal to inquire further, and furnish me with his report and consideration on the subject.

" I inclose provisionally a copy of my letter to his Honour, also the reply: and I hope by the next packet to be enabled to furnish your Lordship with the desired report.

is just and honourable, and if truth is adhered to, no one need be ashamed of his actions—no one need dread the results.

" I need not dwell on the temper and colour of this document of Messrs. Wray and others, MANUFACTURED, as it will appear, in England; as your Lordship will, I am assured, do me the justice to believe, that had I been duly informed of any irregularities, I should have exerted my power to prevent their recurrence; but if Mr. Wray will confide all these to his own knowledge, and vent his imagination secretly to Messrs. Macaulay and Walker; or, as it would appear, give imperfect accounts to the Fiscal, with earnest request to indulge the offenders— * * *

" The case of the negro George, I find on reference, to be briefly this: —At the period of the insurrection at Barbadoes, it was feared that the influence of the misguided there might extend itself to this coast, which being continental, would not have been so easily, if at all subdued.

" It was therefore deemed prudent, in the state of our population, that is, about 300 Europeans, and 25,000 Africans, to be vigilant, and prevent any unseasonable intercourse, lest they should combine and endanger our safety.

" Accordingly, a burgher guard mounted every night, made patrols through the town and the suburbs, with orders to arrest every Slave found in the street after eight o'clock at night, and place them in the custody of the Under Sheriff (gaoler) till the morning, when, if nothing appeared against them, they were usually released on payment of gaol fees.

" It was therefore incumbent on Mr. Wray, as a good inhabitant, not to have placed his hours in opposition, but to have them accord with the police of the town, more especially at a moment when the next might easily have laid us in the dust; and if detaining his hearers beyond the regulated hour at night, he caused the transgression of the rules laid down for the observation of the colony at that critical period, he has only himself to blame.

" This was the case with George; he going from Mr. Wray's house to that of his wife, was found in the streets an hour after the time prescribed, with an inefficient pass, being one which might have been improperly applied; he was arrested and confined according to custom, and

Let common sense be attended to. The white population of our Colonies go from this country. They are our sons and our brothers, they, invariably, leave their native land at the age of manhood, with the character formed, and in general, with the mind stored with knowledge—uncorrupted—uncontaminated. Numbers of them return to this country after years of toil and industry. Look at them wherever they are to be found, and in all the relations of civil and of social life—as members of our legislature, as magistrates— husbands, parents, brothers, friends —say, are they behind their brethren in any thing that can adorn the human character—behind those who so mercilessly abuse and defame them? The miserable subterfuge will not avail the thoughtless calumniator, that it is against

the next morning, nothing appearing against him, he might have been released like others, on payment of the gaol fees (I believe 5*s*. 10*d*.) At the time this happened, I was not in town. The agent, Mr. Scott, wrote to my Secretary, who desired, as the conduct of the guard was impeached, a particular statement of all that had taken place, which he promised to present to me on my arrival in town. And Mr. Wray, rather than pay the expense attendant on the custody of George (I cannot say with how much obstinacy and humanity) suffered the poor negroe, whose transgression he appears to have been the cause of, to remain in gaol for two or three days.

"The whole will appear properly verified by the Fiscal's report. I have, &c.

H. W. BENTINCK.*"

* *Parliamentary Papers.*

the "*lower classes of whites in the Colonies*" that their anathemas are directed, because what are the lower classes of whites in the Colonies to-day become the higher classes to-morrow; and those who return to settle in this country have generally risen to independence and superior rank in society, through the different gradations established in the Colonies*.

* The following animated observations upon this subject, from the pen of one of our ablest periodical publications, is subjoined.

"We have no need whatever to take our opinion of these fellow-subjects of ours from the flimsy tracts, and extravagant declamations, of people we know so little about, as these institutions and associations. The whole surface of society here at home, is studded over with men and women, who have spent great part of their lives in our West Indian Colonies. Whole cities here in the midst of us, are occupied by people who have either done so, or who are connected by the closest ties of blood and friendship with such as have done so. Look, for example, at Liverpool—look at Glasgow—look at the City of London. Are not these places crammed with West Indians?—Are they not overflowing with a population of these men and women, who, if we believe Wilberforce's *ipse dixit*, are the most perfect brutes—cannibals—savages—wild beasts—so many incarnations of every bad, gross, and cruel passion that ever sullied the bosoms of the children of Adam?—The fact is indisputable—the people are here—we see them every day—we must all have more or less associated with them, and their families—We suffer our wives and children to mix as freely as possible with them and with theirs—we dine with them—we drink with them—we hear their freest sentiments. If we are Christians, we sit in the same churches with them—if we are magistrates, we sit on the same bench with them—if we are jurymen, they are our fellows—we cross them and jostle them at every turn—we live among them, and die among them. And do we know nothing of these people?—Are their true characters a mere blank to us?—Do we

When Mr. Wilberforce, duped by false information, attempts to make an affecting and impressive appeal to the people of Great Britain, by requiring what would their feelings be to see their mothers, wives, and daughters, lacerated by the whip, as he maintains, females without cause and without responsibility, are lacerated in the West Indies; he omits to require one thing of them, namely, what their feelings would be if their wives, mothers, and daughters *deserved* to be whipped; and another thing, namely, to remind them that their mothers, wives, and daughters *are whipped* under the laws and within the bounds of the United kingdom. The following Parliamentary return

really look upon ourselves as such egregious idiots, that we are to believe nothing about these people, except what we are told in the pamphlets of the African Institution, and the Mitigation Society, who hold meetings, and make speeches once a-year, in the City of London Tavern? Why, this is really something stranger than strange—In old times, we had books full of Cannibals and Anthropophagi, and men who do wear their heads beneath their shoulders; but these books always laid the scene of their murders at a pretty tolerable distance from those who were to read them. Here, thanks to the spirit of modern modesty, things are altered with a vengeance.—" Nous avons change tout cela."—Here are books full to the brim of such monsters; and the monsters, they tell us, are rubbing the elbow of every mother's son of us.—Well, and if it be so, sure it is nobody's fault but our own if we do not see them.

" But see them we do not.—No, not one horn, hoof, claw, or bloody muzzle—not one. It would seem, that Trinculo is after all right, to the very letter, when he says, that ' in England, a monster makes a MAN.' "—*Blackwood's Magazine, for October.*

proves the fact*; and Mr. Grey Bennet, or Mr. Wilberforce (who never makes any inquiry about whipping white people) may find out, by another return, how many of those persons thus judicially whipped, were females. Besides, are not the wives, mothers, and daughters of Britons put, by the offended laws of their country, in tread mills, on board of hulks—separated from their families and friends, and transported as felons, to labour in fetters in a very distant country. I am not saying this is wrong or unjust; I am merely adducing the facts to oppose to the whining lamentations about punishments being inflicted upon female Slaves in our Colonies. I have stated, however, that the punishment of females in our Colonies is become very rare; that in many of them the whip, as

* Number of persons sentenced to be whipped, and the number actually whipped in Great Britain, during the following years:—

	Sentenced:	Whipped.
1816	826	793
1817	1,092	1,117
1818	1,247	1,202
1819	1,122	1,089
1820	1,036	1,008
1821	1,127	1,104
1822	677	646
Total - -	7,127	6,959

Of these, by far the greater proportion were above twenty years of age.—*Parliamentary Paper, No.* 280, *Session* 1823.

the instrument to inflict it, is entirely laid aside; and in this I am borne out by competent official authority. "*The punishment of females by flogging,*" says Sir CHARLES BRISBANE, "*has, on almost every estate, been long done away with**." "The females are never exposed and whipped in the manner represented; many of those who asserted this as fact, knew the reverse"†. "As regards the punishment of females, corporeal punishment," says an authentic communication from Barbadoes, "*is never inflicted but on the shoulders;* and if any man, whether he be the owner or manager, was to flog a female indecently, or severely on her shoulders, that man would be considered as *having disgraced himself,* and would be shunned in society accordingly."

Mr. Wilberforce in his "*Appeal to the People of Great Britain,*" has been led upon the authority of some secret assassin of character, to make the sweeping charge, that in our Colonies "married men openly keep mistresses;" and the shameless writer of the notes on the debates on Mr. Buxton's motion, aggravates the bitter libel thus:—"The married man in Jamaica who keeps his brown or black mistress, *in the very face of*

* St. Vincent's Official Memorial, page 6.

† St. Vincent's Legislature Report, page 44.

his wife and family and of the community, has generally as much outward respect shewn him, and is as *much countenanced, visited and received into company* especially, if he be a man of some influence in the community, as if he had been guilty of no breach of decency or dereliction of moral duty*."

The writer of the above article, *if ever he was* in the West Indies, must have associated with a strange state of society, a state of society such as does not at present exist there; and if this writer has never been in the West Indies, he may rest assured, that he has been duped by some unconscionable knave, to publish the bitterest libel, to inflict the deepest wound, and most cruel injury that could be inflicted upon the feelings and character of an intelligent and highly respectable class of his fellow subjects. As the charge stands, it is on the part of some one or other, a most atrocious falsehood. I would just ask Mr. Wilberforce, if no married men in Great Britain keep mistresses, and if they are not "visited and received into society;" and I will assert, that very rarely, indeed, if at all, (certainly not openly) is such a "dereliction of moral duty" witnessed in the West Indies; and I state without the fear of

* Debate on Buxton's Motion, page 152.

contradiction, and from personal knowledge of many Colonies, that wherever any man so far forgets himself and his moral duty, or is even *suspected* of doing so, he would be, and is universally condemned by every class of the community.

Men who seek to abandon their moral duties, or walk in the ways of evil and licentiousness, may find the means of doing so and *associating* with like companions every where, in every kingdom, and in every country; and in no place have such characters a wider field for a violation of their moral duties than in the British metropolis, under the eyes and within the knowledge of that class of men, who, it would appear, can see evil distinctly only on the other side of the Atlantic. The hideous scenes of licentiousness described as prevailing openly in the West Indies, are unknown to those who are acquainted with these countries. I aver as a fact, (hundreds, I believe, can corroborate it) that, during a residence of fourteen years in that part of the world, during which period I visited the capitals of more Colonies than one, I never saw a white, black, or brown female intoxicated, or whom I could from her conduct suppose to be a prostitute. Half an hour's perambulation in the chief streets of London, and in the streets of any

great town in this country, will *force* upon the sight thousands of females in the lowest depth of wretchedness and moral degradation.

I do not adduce these things as a justification, or even for the purpose of extenuating the immorality which does prevail in the West Indies; but the contrast has been forced upon me, and I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that upon a fair comparison of female decency in England and the Colonies, the result would be in favour of the Colonies. It is without surprise, but with indignation, that I read the charge made on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Cooper, that it is as customary for a stranger, when visiting upon a plantation, to "require the servant who attends him to bring him a girl, as it is to desire him to bring a candle." That such violations of the rites of hospitality and decorum may *secretly* take place, is as possible in the Colonies as in England; but that they occur generally or openly, is another falsehood added to the number of those already circulated by the anti-Colonial party. I would, however, beg leave to ask the "licentious" accuser, did he never hear of decorum and hospitality being so outraged and violated under the roof of his friends in this country—never hear of the maid servant being seduced by the master of the house, or some visiting friend? Or would he think it fair, from such con-

duct, to judge and condemn the manners and conduct of the whole community? The individual who could, in the West Indies, so far forget what was due to decency and hospitality would never, I aver, insult them again, in a similar way, under the same roof, in the West Indies. But once during my residence there did I hear of such rudeness, and that was on the part of the *master of a ship from London*, who being received and kindly treated in the house of an unmarried and respectable gentleman in one of the Windward Islands, made the experiment. He knows the result. He was dismissed with ignominy and contempt, and never after, I believe, shewed his face in that Colony. I know not if his owners in London knew the cause, but this I do know, that their interest *felt* it.

In the conduct of the calumniators of our West India Colonies, there are some things very remarkable. Against the state of society, and the conduct of the free people in them, language is ransacked for terms of cruelty and reproach, and every thing that can be hatched by ignorance or malice against them is greedily swallowed and believed. Change the scene. Let the wildest, most ignorant, most licentious and most ferocious savage in Asia or America, but more especially in

Africa, be brought upon the carpet as meriting our care and assistance, and his actions are viewed with unlimited compassion, all that is bad in them is concealed—and the population become our "poor African brethren." Deal justly I say—why screen one and expose another? Why dwell on West Indian errors and transgressions, while India, that *strong-hold of iniquity*—as Mr. Wilberforce calls it, remains untouched? There must be a reason for this. What is it? Partiality, injustice, or both?

The West India Colonists do not deny that there is licentiousness amongst them—they do not mean to say that no human being does wrong—but they deny that the former exists to the extent mentioned among either bond or free—or resembles the hideous caricatures exhibited by the sociey in question; and they aver, that when cruelty or crime rear their heads amongst them, these are punished with as much impartiality as in other parts of the British empire—and they are ready to prove before the British nation, and their bitterest enemies, that so far from error, cruelty, and licentiousness—above all, cruelty or injustice to Slaves—reigning among them uncontrouled—"ENCOURAGED"—approved of—or unpunished; these things

are generally condemned and publicly execrated. They dare the proof—they defy their accusers.

The Colonists assert, and they appeal to government for the truth of the assertion, that they most anxiously and most eagerly pursue the melioration of the condition of their Slaves, and that there is nothing which could be required of them by the government for this purpose, unless obviously dangerous and unjust, which they have not been, and are not still ready to perform; but at the same time they oppose, and solemnly protest against, and condemn that system of unmitigated calumny and falsehood, which holds them up to their fellow-subjects and the world as monsters of iniquity—not raised above savages in the scale of civilization —level with the brutes of the field; and declare that as men, and as British subjects, entitled to their just rights as such, that they will never yield to, but resist and repel, every interference with their institutions by irresponsible societies, prompted by faction and MISLED by *designing men.*

Such is the constitution of society in the West Indies, that the executive government alone can direct with advantage or without danger. The executive government alone can be so correctly informed, as to enable them to judge im-

partially. Such societies as that of which the labours have come under our review, shew in the most glaring colours, that they draw their information from hear-say, or from the most polluted sources—from direct malice or disappointed ambition—from channels so impure, that in nine instances out of ten they dare not, or are ashamed to shew their authority, while even the information thus obtained, is when sent abroad arranged for stage effect, and by their anonymous writers sharpened with all the exaggerations which declamation can supply, or michief invent. They treasure up the bad—they reject the good—to the former alone will they listen, and the West India Colonists have only to be accused, to be condemned without consideration or remorse. Of this most unfair and un-Christian spirit in their proceedings, the Colonists complain, and justly complain; and it would be to suppose human nature different from what it is, or from what it ever can be, were we to expect the Colonists to cease to view with jealousy and alarm, every movement made by men, who so cruelly injure and defame them.

Whilst these societies are actuated and impelled by such feelings as their publications proclaim, every measure pursued or adopted by them, must end not only in disappointment, but

tend to retard, if not altogether prevent, the very results which they so anxiously aim at. These horrific descriptions of the condition and dispositions of men and society in the Colonies, must tend to give every respectable person in this country such an idea of these countries, that no fathers of families will allow their children, male or female, to go to such places, nor will any respectable clergyman or teacher of youth embark to live amongst them. The consequence, if not counteracted, must be, that knowledge and intelligence must be driven from these Islands, and savage life trample under foot civilization and improvement. The blow which the political rashness of a BUXTON has already given to the security and prosperity of our Colonies, can scarcely be remedied, even by the wisdom and firmness of a LIVERPOOL and a CANNING.

Traduced and vilified as they have been, it is to be hoped that the British spirit which animates the breasts of our West India Colonists, and which has induced them to stand by their country in the hour of her greatest danger—that this spirit will not forsake them, but that to the suggestions which have been made to them by the government, however just these may be, their firm, but respectful reply will be—we have always cheerfully obeyed you—we are

still ready to do so, but we have been most unjustly and cruelly aspersed—our characters are in your hands, and till you vindicate us, we must stand still and refuse co-operation. We owe this to ourselves and to our country. Before the British legislature let ourselves and our accusers appear—let our character, conduct, and the state of our Slaves, be there inquired into; if guilty let us suffer—if innocent let us be cleared, and no longer tormented.

The British empire demands this inquiry. The public can never rest satisfied, till the falsehood or truth of these charges is officially and publicly put beyond the power of malice, or misrepresentation—to cavil at or dispute.

I would ask the champions of the emancipation Societies—I would put it to them as men and as Christians—whether they can for a moment suppose that any human being—even "our African brethren" would cordially unite with, or receive as a boon, any thing from hands which so grossly defame them? Was the course which they adopt, the way chosen *by the Saviour of the world,* to address even the greatest sinner of our species—the way by which he won men to forsake the evil of their ways, and turn to him that they might live? No! no! Let the *anti-Colonists* treat their fellow subjects

as men—let them treat them with the feelings of Christians, not those of assassins of character, and they will find that in every thing that is good they, as fellow-subjects, will go hand in hand with them.

As in every other country in the world, there is abundant room for moral and religious improvement—so there is abundant room for the diffusion of religious knowledge in the West Indies. The active exertions of the West Indians both at home and abroad, to further these objects, and the disinterested efforts of religious societies in this country to carry the same objects into effect, will, no doubt, proceed with undiminished ardour, and with increasing success. I may, however, be permitted to remark, that to diffuse knowledge amongst the West Indian population, SCHOOLMASTERS of superior knowledge and education are even more wanted than religious instructors. Without the former, the labours of the latter will, I fear, be slow. This truth is pressed upon the attention of all who feel interested in those matters, as absolutely and indispensibly necessary to carry their beneficent views into effect. By the establishment of well-educated schoolmasters in these Colonies, all classes will be benefited. The want of instruction in the superior branches of education in the Colonies is felt most severely

by the white families in the West Indies. The expense of sending their children for education to Great Britain is such, that only persons of large fortunes, such as are now become very rare in the West Indies, can possibly support it.

Another important and indispensible consideration is, that the clergymen sent out to the Colonies should be of the established churches of England or of Scotland. I am far from under-valuing, much less from attaching blame or want of ability generally to the members of other religious persuasions which settle in our Colonies, but it must be evident to every one who will take the trouble to think, that it will be attended with danger to have the Slave taught that while he is, his master is not, marching in the right path to Heaven. To render the union between master and Slave complete, their religious tenets must be the same. It will be attended with imminent danger to disunite them, and with still greater danger if their religious teachers, should interfere so far in the civil relations between master and Slave as to make the latter look to them as a power superior to their master. That such an ignorant and dangerous course of proceeding has been adopted by some missionaries in the West Indies cannot admit of a doubt. The fatal insurrection in Demerara has written

that fact in letters of blood—in characters which will not easily be obliterated*. It is with much

* The annexed extracts from a letter from the pen of a clergyman in Demerara, the original of which I have seen, will fully substantiate the truth of what I state.

" For many months past an unusual bustle and activity were seen to prevail in the different chapels throughout the Colony, where nightly meetings were held, entirely for religious purposes, two or three times a week, and where certain mysterious announcements were made about freedom, which startled the minds of some free people of colour. The negroes declared, that if they might not go to *Mr. Smith's* chapel, which was many miles distant, they would go to none—that they did not MUCH CARE ABOUT PREACHING—that their eyes had been opened, and they knew what to do.—Mr. Elliot, a missionary from the LONDON Society, laid an imperative order upon all Slaves to attend his chapel, telling them that orders had come out from Britain, that the whip should be thrown away, that besides Sunday they were to have a day or half a day in the week to themselves, and that all these advantages had been secured to them THROUGH THE INFLUENCE and exertions of MR. DAVIES, a third missionary, from the London Society, now in England. The negroe Telemachus, who acted as commander-in-chief of the blacks, and was taken prisoner, positively asserts that he and his companions have done nothing wrong; they have only done that which they were exhorted to do; that for the last TWELVE MONTHS it has been preached to them at the Chapel (Mr. Smith's) that they were free; that the King had given them their freedom, but that the Governor and the planters their masters kept it back, and that it was their own *fault* if they did not step forward and assert their rights.—Pamphlets of a most pernicious tendency, *printed in England*, and brought here *in parcels by sailors*, were distributed among the blacks, in which pamphlets they were called upon to rise up and redress their wrongs.

" There can be no doubt that the authors of the conspiracy aimed at making a second St. Domingo of Demerara, and of establishing themselves in high stations under the new order of things. This I could not bring my mind to believe till very lately. It was so improbable, so contrary to the ideas I had connected with the character and views of a minister as preacher of the Gospel, and above all, a missionary, educated,

satisfaction, therefore, that I learn that the intended religious establishments for the Colonies

appointed, paid and PROTECTED by the London Missionary Society, who, at the peril of his life had come to this country, purely for the conversion of the Heathen—it was so improbable I say, that such a person should be actuated by such conduct and ambitious views, that I was perhaps the last individual to give credit to the story; but now appearances are so very strong and the train of events and circumstances so DISTINCTLY traced to BETHEL CHAPEL and ITS MINISTER, that I am forced to the above very harsh conclusion. It is now understood from the confession of the criminals, that two or three agents under the direction of Mr. Smith (viz. a negroe butcher, named Bob Murray, the coachman of Jacobus Murteres, Esq. &c.) have been going about the Colony preparing the minds of the negroes for a revolt.—Under *pretence* of instructing the negroes, they (Smith and his colleagues) INTERFERED between master and servant, and WEAKENED instead of STRENGTHENING the ties that bound them together. In other words, that they took the power out of the hands of the master and rendered *him dependent upon them*, for the influence he was to possess over his own Slaves; *the minister being the umpire* in all disputes, and the mediator when a reconciliation took place. The missionaries also, far from acting up to their pretensions and seeking the conversion of sinners as their sole object, *exercised a dominion* over the negroes which had a most deceitful appearance, and *levied contributions under a variety of forms*, which rendered it obvious that they were not a little anxious to augment their income. Now, as they had all salaries from the London Missionary Society, and most of them received annual grants of *one hundred joes* (£330 currency) from the Colony, I contended, that they *ought to take nothing whatever* from the negroes, but to instruct them *gratis*, and to throw themselves on the generosity of the masters, who, if they were pleased with the industry and good behaviour of the Slaves would liberally reward their instructors, and find it their interest to render the situation of missionaries still more comfortable; and I objected and continue to object to the *monstrous absurdity* of collecting money among the negroes to be transmitted to the London Missionary Society, for the purpose of propagating the Gospel in Africa and other parts of the Globe. This appears to me to be such a piece of inconsistency and nonsense, that I know not in what terms to speak of it." (*Letter, dated Demerara, 21st—29th August* 1823.)

are to be filled up by members of the established church. This is a judicious proceeding, and will be attended with the most beneficial results. The religious teachers sent out amongst a Slave population must be men of general knowledge, of great prudence and discretion—they must, in short, be men who will feed their pupils with "*milk*" not with "*strong meat*"—men like the Wesleyans, who never interfere with the civil relations subsisting in society—men like the Moravians, who teach, as a paramount duty, industry, frugality, attention to the interests of their masters and the support of their families, together with all their other moral duties. Such teachers, only, can succeed and do good in the West Indies.

While the concluding numbers of the present sheets were in the press, Mr. Stephen's new work "NEGRO SLAVERY," &c. vol. 1st, made its appearance. This closely printed octavo volume of upwards of 500 pages, is made up from the previous violent publications of the African Institution. It exhibits a distortion of facts and mutilation of official documents, such as the public have again and again seen, and again and again condemned and reprobated, in the publications put forth from the same quarter and for the same object. Upon opening the

volume, at page 212, the following extract upon the subject of religious establishments in the Colonies, first caught my eye, viz.: "*The Governor of Trinidad expresses his concern that there is no church, or church establishment in that island.*" (*Parliamentary Papers of* 1818, p. 212.) Astonishment and indignation filled my mind. I had in my possession at the moment, a communication from Sir Ralph Woodford, the governor of Trinidad, to Earl Bathurst, upon the same subject, and extracted from the same Parliamentary Papers, pages 212 and 214. Let the extracts speak for themselves:—

TRINIDAD.—Extract of a Letter from Governor Sir Ralph Woodford to Earl Bathurst.

"I communicated to the Protestant Minister such parts of your Lordship's letter as related to him more particularly; and I herewith enclose a copy of Mr. Clapham's reply.

"Having found the Rev. Don Joaquim de Aristimano at the head of the catholic church, I have only to bear testimony to his labours, and to his disinterestedness, as to those of the Friar Jose de Ricla, by whose joint efforts the greatest improvement in the religious devotion of the middling class of people has been effected."—(p. 212.)

A return is given of one Protestant Minister, and eight Catholic Priests; and Mr. Clapham states the arrival of several Missionaries in the island, since the conflagration of Port of Spain, in 1808, in which the Protestant Church was unfortunately destroyed; and describes the effects of their labours as follows:—

"After all, I may be mistaken in my opinions: but when I see the general temper of the British nation departing so far from the at least prudent maxims of the Church of Rome, with regard to uniformity of public worship—when every madman or every enthusiast is allowed, without the sanction or the approbation of his superiors in knowledge and in

prudence, or some regularly constituted authority, to entice others into his delirium, or enthusiasm—and religious enthusiasm is infectious ; and dissatisfaction arising from a thousand sources of temper and habits lends its powerful aid to apostacy—when he forgets that toleration as to his private opinions is generously as well as properly allowed him, but ought to be confined to his private opinions—when he thinks he has a right to make the Holy Scriptures yield to his private interpretation, and to persuade others to imbibe his notion—all these things considered, my decided opinion is, that although such people may make nominal Christians, they are more likely to make them dangerous subjects; and that this danger, in these countries, is greatest among the Slaves."—p. 214.)

Mr. Stephen may call his conduct, in this instance, dealing fairly with the public; to me it appears to be conduct such as was never before pursued by any one to injure one country, or to mislead another.

When the reader is informed that the volume in question is made up of similar mutilations and misrepresentations, he will probably think he has heard enough of it.

Trinidad contains 35,000 inhabitants. They are nearly all rigid Roman Catholics. It is the seat of a Roman Catholic bishop, and from the preceding letters it is evident that at that period it had one religious teacher to every 2,500 or 3,000 inhabitants.

The preface to the work is of a piece with the rest, but, in fact, the most important part of it —as is said to be occasionally the case with the postscript of a letter, it lets out the facts and the spirit which the epistle had been written to con-

ceal. It breathes a spirit of deeper rancour and animosity against our West India Colonies than any thing that has yet appeared. At the same time it betrays a soreness which shews the mind of the writer to be both distracted and disturbed. He will feel sorer still before that storm of public indignation is expended which now rolls against him. On his head will this indignant nation charge the loss of our West India Colonies, and all the evils—individual ruin and misery, and national loss and disgrace, which may proceed from the destruction of those valuable possessions. How justly, let an appeal to his own heart determine and decide.

In the preface alluded to, we find (pages 9, 10) an undisguised justification of the negro revolts in Barbadoes, Demerara, &c. and a scarcely concealed regret that so little of the blood of the whites had been shed. In this preface we are distinctly informed that the total loss of the West India Colonies, "*or their transfer to a Foreign power,*" (page 40) would be a great blessing to this country—a "saving of blood and treasure in their defence," (page 41) and a "saving of two millions a year" to the people of England, by substituting the Sugars of the Brazils, Cuba, Hayti, and Hindostan for theirs.

Heaven protect our country if ever the counsels of her statesmen are animated or influenced by a spirit and ideas like these.

The same authority which now recommends, nay almost commands, us to destroy our West India Colonies, and take our supply of Sugar from foreign Colonies, cultivated by Slaves, and maintained by the Slave trade, would certainly, and that at no distant day, require of this country, in the next place, to give up Cuba and Brazil Sugar, and take Sugar which may be produced in Africa by *compulsory labour*. Not a doubt can remain on this point.

Two or three commercial points in the preface in question, merit a moment's attention, from their inconsistency and absurdity.

In page 26 we are informed, that there is no such a thing as British capital vested in the West Indies—that its value is as imaginary and unsubstantial "as Sir Gregor M'Gregor's principality." Yet in the very next page we are told "When a West India Planter fails, the merchants, mortgagees, and creditors in this country, are almost *sure largely to suffer*. When a West Indian merchant fails (and how very common an occurrence that is, the commercial world need not be told) the manufacturers and others, who are connected with him in this country,

deeply feel the effects of his ruin, and are often drawn down by his fall." Why, what profound commercial reasoning is this, and what has it to do with the subject of negroe emancipation? May not a creditor be " drawn down by the fall" of a Master in Chancery as well as by the fall of a West India merchant? Certainly. Besides, does Mr. Stephen imagine the mortgagees and merchants in this country, to be such dolts and idiots as to lend money upon what was not legally accounted property, or to send goods to a country where no man in it had any property? Mr. Stephen may as well tell us, that when the land in this country yielded little or no rent, the landlord had no capital at stake, or that British subjects have no property or capital in the national funds, as attempt to persuade mankind that the landowners in the West Indies, have no capital vested in that country. He and his colleagues, labour hard to render West India property as valueless as Sir Gregor M'Gregor's bonds, but they have not yet succeeded, and before they do succeed, some inquiries may be made, as to the value of East India Bonds—some inquiries may possibly be made as to that sink for national capital, that clog to national commerce—*Sierra Leone.* " It is," to use his own words, p. 33, " high time that the people of

England should be enabled by Parliamentary investigation, fairly to ascertain" every thing connected with that place.

The following high flight of fancy was, however, scarcely to have been expected from Mr. Stephen, page 40, he says "Let those threateners (West India Colonists) prove to us, if they can, that a ton of Sugar brought from Brazil or India will pay a *less freight* than if it came from Jamaica." Why Mr. Stephen and his colleagues during the last two years have been labouring to prove that it *could* be brought at less freight.

Mr. Stephen in his usual strain of declamation and exaggeration, always employed when he has no facts to adduce, tells us, page 33, that "our Sugar Colonies have cost us during the last thirty years, an hundred and fifty millions of debt; and fifty thousand lives." For the loss of lives in the Colonies, we may thank his great predecessors in negroe emancipation, the Goddess of Reason,—Liberty, and Equality; and for the debt, or rather expense of preserving them, we have to thank the *demi-god* of the Edinburgh Review—Napoleon, who wanted to deprive us of them. If, however, we divide Mr. Stephen's sum by *five*, we shall have the utmost expense of conquering many, and maintaining all these strong outworks of our empire, at least such

Napoleon thought them, and on such subjects he was, I take it, a more competent judge than Mr. Stephen, or the Abolition Society.

But Mr. Stephen has stated only one side of the account. He has omitted to state the produce which we have received from them, and the goods which we have sent to them, when *we could neither receive the former, nor send the latter, from, or to any other quarter.* During the war, when prices were high, the imports from the West Indies were sometimes nearly 20 millions, and the exports above ten millions annually. Take the imports on an average at 14 millions, and exports at eight millions, and the amount would stand thus for the last thirty years, viz:—

Imports from West Indies* - - - -	£420,000,000
Exports to do. - - - - -	240,000,000
Revenue from do. *above* - - - -	210,000,000
Colonial produce exported, say - - -	160,000,000
Total (equal to our national debt) - -	£1,030,000,000

Independent of the exports and imports to and from the British North American Colonies, and also the United States, perhaps 100 millions more.

* Exclusive of freight and charges—The whole of this enormous sum also, was expended in Great Britain, and upon articles the growth, produce, and manufacture of her own soil.

Amongst the other extravagant assertions brought forward by the anti-colonists, and reiterated by Mr. Stephen, the following stands most prominent, namely, that were our West India Colonies utterly lost and destroyed, the people of Great Britain would get abundance of Sugar *cheaper* from other quarters, and that neither our shipping interest nor our revenue would suffer any loss.

Prejudice and ignorance the most dangerous, could alone advance such statements as these. The British West India Colonies export in round numbers 190,000 tons of Sugar, the United Kingdom consumes, about 160,000 tons. The French, and Dutch, and Danish Colonies, do not supply the wants of the parent states with Sugar. Cuba in 1822, exported from the Havannah alone 263,000 boxes (4¼ cwt. each) Sugar. Last year to the end of August it exported an equal amount. Suppose the export of Sugar from the Havannah for the year to have been 300,000 boxes, and that the Sugar exports from the rest of Cuba were one half more, the whole would amount to 450,000 boxes, or 95,625 tons, a considerable portion of which is clayed. At this rate, the Sugar thrown into the markets of Europe and America, from the countries which produce it, would stand thus—viz:—

Cuba (allowance for clayed) - - -	120,000	tons
Brazils, say - - - - - - -	20,000	—
India - - - - - - - -	20,000	—
And Eastern Isles, allow - - -	16,000	—
Total - - - - - -	176,000	tons

which is all consumed in different Foreign Countries.

Total foreign Sugar exportable, and consumed in Foreign States	176,000	tons
Do. British do. do. - - -	40,000	—
Total raised for, and consumed in Foreign States	216,000	tons

Strike away therefore, the whole produce of the British Colonies, 190,000 tons, out of the market, and the veriest tyro in arithmetic, and in politics, could determine that the people of Great Britain could *not then get* the quantity of Sugar they now get, that what they did get would be double, perhaps triple, the price which they now pay for West India Sugar; while the deficiency in quantity, would occasion a proportionate diminution in the revenue, and the majority being chiefly imported in foreign ships, the freights now obtained for West India Sugar, would be almost totally lost to the shipping interest of Great Britain.

However little the value of the West India Colonies may be appreciated now by this country —by Mr. Stephen and his friends, there was a period in the History of Great Britain when

she thought very differently and more correctly. Amongst the monuments to the memory of the mighty dead, which a grateful nation has raised and placed in the metropolitan church, there is one which, before he looks upon the West Indies in such a contemptuous light, I would recommend Mr. Stephen to examine. The inscription upon that erected to the memory of Major-General DUNDAS, who died on the 3rd June, 1794, in the West Indies, bears, that it was erected in compliance with an *unanimous* resolution of the House of Commons, June 5th 1795, in order to commemorate "the eminent services which he had rendered his country, *particularly by the reduction of the French West India islands.*" Mr. Stephen and his adherents in the present *anti-colonial war* may dash to pieces the marble containing this inscription, but neither their sneers, their scorn, nor their misrepresentations can erase from the pages of history the feelings, sentiments, and the opinion of a grateful nation, recorded during the proudest period of her triumphs and her glory.

On the opening of the session of Parliament, 1797, when the King's Speech cheered the nation with the memorable victory of Camperdown, Mr. Bryan Edwards, a West Indian, attacked

the minister, Mr. Pitt, denouncing all his policy, and lamenting the secession of Mr. Fox from his parliamentary duties. Mr. Edwards "animadverted on our conquests in the East and West Indies, which he represented as not worth the expenses of a single campaign. In the West Indies particularly," said he "the hand of OMNIPOTENCE was lifted up against us. So great was the ravage of pestilence that every field was a charnel house. As well might we think to make conquests in the moon, as to retain them in the French islands (St. Domingo in particular.) He reprobated the policy of extending our West India Colonial possessions, or of conquering islands at the price of peace, &c *." *Mr. Wilberforce,* on this occasion, stood forward the champion of ministers, and taking up Mr. Edwards closely and warmly, and believing they were right and "OMNIPOTENCE," not "*against us*" but for us, he strongly defended all their measures and all their policy, including amongst the rest the conquest of St. Domingo and "the extension of our West India Colonial possessions." While he severely blamed Mr. Fox for abandoning his post, "he declared that whatever might be the conduct of other gentlemen, he should remain at his post. He would not

* Speech opening Parliament, 1797.

leave a sinking vessel to the mercy of the waves, but would stick by her while any of the timbers remained together. He did not think the country in so dismal a condition as it had been represented, nor did he think if Mr. Edwards's *opinions* had been attended to, the country would have been in a better situation than it was at present*. Times are changed, and Mr. Wilberforce, it appears, now thinks differently about "our Colonial possessions."

Mr. Stephen asserts, that by emancipating the Slaves, and "*trusting them with arms*, our Sugar Colonies might be safely left to their INTERIOR means of defence," and consequently that Great Britain would save the whole expense, naval and military, at present incurred in protecting them. Let the state of St. Domingo answer these assertions. With a condensed population of 350,000, Boyer requires an army of 25,000 men inured to the climate, to maintain his authority. The population in our Colonies being double would if emancipated and "trusted with arms," require double the number of troops, without taking into account the additional number which would be necessary on account of the distance of those possessions from the parent state; the insulated nature of those possessions

* Speech opening Parliament, 1797.

and the defalcation from the effective strength of European troops, unseasoned to the climate.

If Mr. Stephen would only look at a globe or the map of the world, he must, I think, perceive that with negroes emancipated—negroe republics, or negroe anarchy in the West Indies—with the republic of Hayti in the heart of them—the ambitious republic of Colombia on the one hand (and close at hand) and the still more powerful and ambitious republic of the United States on the other hand—and with almost every bay and point totally defenceless and open to attack, that Great Britain could not defend the West Indies, even were they, under such circumstances, worth the defending, but at an expense which would equal the expense of the defence of the Spanish Peninsula. Fortunately for this country a wiser head than Mr. Stephen's must be consulted on this point. The conqueror of Waterloo—the Duke of Wellington, will, if I mistake not, differ from Mr. Stephen, and by doing so, again save his country from loss and humiliation—from enemies more dangerous to his power than Napoleon was with Europe prostrate at his feet.

APPENDIX.

Paper referred to, page 54.

ACCOUNTS RELATING TO FOUR AND HALF PER CENT. DUTIES.

An Account of the Nett Proceeds of the Four and Half per Cent. Barbadoes and Leeward Islands Duties, consigned to England in Produce; distinguishing the amount from each Island, for the year 1819.

Islands.	*Nett Proceeds.* £.	s.	d.
Antigua	10,250	3	3
Barbadoes	16,185	12	9
Montserrat	1,388	15	4
Nevis	2,447	14	9
St. Christopher's	4,584	3	0
Tortola	987	8	5
Sugar Samples	45	18	7
	£ 35,889	16	1

An Account of the Nett Proceeds of the Four and Half per Cent. Barbadoes and Leeward Island Duties, consigned to England in Produce; distinguishing the Amount from each Island, for the year 1820.

Islands.	*Nett Proceeds.* £.	s.	d.
Antigua	9,337	12	11
Barbadoes	8,176	10	2
Montserrat	1,261	9	0
Nevis	1,567	12	1
St. Christopher's	4,192	6	7
Tortola	862	6	11
Sugar Samples	37	6	3
	£ 25,435	3	11

An Account of the Total Nett Produce of the Four and Half per Cent. Barbadoes and Leeward Islands Duties, for the years 1819 and 1820, as far as relates to the Husband, distinguishing each year.

RECEIPTS.

	Amount. £.	s.	d.
To Cash per Messrs. Mitchells, in the year 1819	49,250	0	0
Ditto Ditto in the year 1820	46,517	17	3
Ditto per James Gordon, esq. collector at Bristol, in the year 1820	0	18	6
	£ 95,768	15	9

SALARIES.

Officers' Names.	Rate of Salary. £. s. d.	Payments. Amt. in 1819. £. s. d.	Amt. in 1820. £. s. d.
Robert Aberdein, collector, Bridge Town, Barbadoes	250 0 0	——	198 7 4
E. L. Bigger, collector, Basseterre, Saint Kitts	80 0 0	——	66 14 9
Robert Claxton, comptroller, Nevis	50 0 0	25 0 0	50 0 0
Nathaniel Coffin, collector, Basseterre, Saint Kitts	50 0 0	120 0 0	——
Thomas Challenor, comptroller, Oistens, Barbadoes	50 0 0	100 0 0	——
John Duer, collector, Parham, Antigua	80 0 0	60 0 0	——
S. K. Gibbons, comptroller, Speights Town, Barbadoes	50 0 0	60 2 5	87 10 0
Lockhart Gordon, collector, Nevis	150 0 0	150 0 0	150 0 0
George Hallam, collector, Bridge Town, Barbadoes	250 0 0	125 0 0	129 1 6
Philip Lyne, collector, Sandy Point, Saint Kitts	80 0 0	580 0 0	——
William Henry Male, comptroller, Basseterre, Saint Kitts	50 0 0	75 0 0	50 0 0
F. Ottley, comptroller, Parham, Antigua	50 0 0	——	108 11 3
Samuel Rock, comptroller, Speights Town, Barbadoes	50 0 0	13 5 7½	——
Richard Symonds, collector, Montserrat	60 0 0	75 0 0	——
J. W. Stanley, comptroller, Nevis	50 0 0	32 0 10	——
John Straker, comptroller, Bridge Town, Barbadoes	120 0 0	90 0 0	150 0 0
John Spencer, comptroller, Tortola	50 0 0	——	26 15 3
J. P. Williams, collector, Hole Town, Barbadoes	87 10 0	——	678 2 6
Benjamin Williams, comptroller, Hole Town, Barbadoes	50 0 0	——	450 0

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Charles Woodley, collector, Basseterre, Saint Kitts	80	0	0		——		38	17	11
Receiver General of customs, on account of Thomas Thomason, late collector, Tortola	40	0	0		——		187	18	8
Auditor general	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0
				£. 1,525	8	10½	2,391	19	2

N. B.—The Salaries are paid to the officers for the time being.

EXCHEQUER——Receiver General				£. 20,500	0	0	18,262	16	1
CHARGES——Petties				£. 1	1	6	0	13	0
PENSIONS, paid in England				25,887	8	6	26,776	19	2
SALARIES				1,525	8	10½	2,391	19	2
EXCHEQUER				20,500	0	0	18,262	16	1
CHARGES				1	1	6	0	13	0
			Total	£. 47,913	18	10½	47,432	7	5

E. Bates, Husband, 4½ per Cent. Duties
J. Franklin, Accountant General.

An ACCOUNT of the Amount of the Four and a Half per Cent. Barbadoes and Leeward Islands Duties, by way of Salaries or Pensions, or in any other manner; together with the Names to whom such Head, and the Amount remaining in the Exchequer at the end of each Year.

Receipt into the Exchequer.			In the Years 1819. £.	s.	d.	1820. £.	s.	d.
Amount of Four and Half per Cent. Duties, received into the Exchequer			21,270	17	9½	18,636	14	6½
Application thereof, by way of Salaries.		When granted.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Sir Charles Brisbane	governor of St. Vincent's	20 Jan. 1809	1,300	0	0	1,300	0	0
Sir Fred. Philips Robinson	Tobago	13 Nov. 1806	1,300	0	0	1,300	0	0
Maj. Gen. Thineas Riall	Grenada	13 Nov. 1816	1,144	15	8¼	682	0	0
Sir George T. Walker	lieut. governor of do.	12 Oct. 1816	375	0	0	300	0	0
Bryan Broughton, esq.	agent for do.	24 Dec. 1774	200	0	0	200	0	0
Lord Combermere,	governor of Barbadoes	9 May 1817	1,175	0	0	975	16	5
John Forster Alleyne, esq.	acting do. do.	——	80	15	8¾	——		
Maj. Gen. Geo. Ramsay	governor of Antigua and Montserrat	28 June 1816	1,387	7	2¾	126	8	8¾
Sir Benjamin D'Urban	do. do.	19 May 1820	——			876	7	5¼
Thomas N. Kerby, esq.	acting governor do.	28 June 1816	1,085	3	3½	——		
John Horsford, esq.	do. do.	——	——			555	10	2¾
Charles Cameron, esq.	governor of the Bahamas	8 Sept. 1804	207	2	10	250	0	0
Ditto	do.	19 July —	155	7	1½	187	10	0
Wm. V. Munnings, esq.	acting governor do.		182	2	10¼	150	0	0

Wm. V. Munnings, esq.	acting governor of the Bahamas	8 Sept. —	242 17 1½	200 0 0
Sam. Edw. Steward, esq.	lieutenant governor of Montserrat	28 Sept. 1809	250 0 0	200 0 0
Chas. Wm. Maxwell, esq.	governor of Dominica	28 June 1816	1,101 13 1¼	—
Sir S. Ford Whittingham	do.	22 Sept. 1819	—	335 14 3½
Robert Reid, esq.	acting governor do.	28 June 1816	—	394 15 4½
Lt. Gen. Fred. Maitland	lieut. governor do.	14 May 1813	400 0 0	300 0 0
Sir James Cockburn	governor of the Bermudas	20 Jan. 1812	662 8 7¼	—
William Smith, esq.	acting governor do.	—	—	227 16 10¼
John Hayman, esq.	lieut. governor of St. Christopher's	10 Dec. 1791	200 0 0	200 0 0
Chas. W. Maxwell, esq.	governor of do.	2 Feb. 1820	—	1,431 11 10¼
Thomas Probyn, esq.	governor of the Virgin Islands	28 June 1816	475 0 0	—
Chas. W. Maxwell, esq.	do.	22 Sept. 1819	269 19 9¼	—
J. W. Delap Wilson, esq.	acting governor do.	28 Jan. 1816	632 6 11	—
Ditto	do. St. Christopher's	1 July 1820	—	143 8 1½
Colonel James Bathurst	lieut. governor of Virgin Islands	12 Oct. 1816	200 0 0	200 0 0
Maj. Gen. Edw. Barnes	lieut. governor of the Leeward Islands	11 Mar. 1814	225 0 0	300 0 0
William Boothby, esq.	lieutenant governor of Nevis	22 July 1796	300 0 0	300 0 0
Hon. Alex. Murray	agent for Turk's Island	16 July 1791	100 0 0	50 0 0
Augustus H. Bradshaw	surveyor-general and auditor-general of the revenues in America	29 Jan. 1770	250 9 0	250 0 0
	Total of Salaries		£ 13,902 0 3¼	11,436 19 4

Received into the Exchequer in the Years 1819 and 1820, with the APPLICATION thereof; specifying whether Salaries, Pensions, or Payments were paid; and the Date on which such were first granted, the Total under each.

Application by way of Pensions.	When granted.	In the Years 1819. £. s. d.	1820. £. s. d.
To Isabella Frances Master - - - - - - - -	30 April 1802	200 0 0	200 0 0
Sir A. Hume, in trust for St. Vincent Frederick Master -	——	100 0 0	100 0 0
Richard Master - - - - - - - - -	1 Jan. 1817 -	100 0 0	100 0 0
Mary Martia - - - - - - - - -	9 July 1789 -	50 0 0	12 10 0
Sarah Martin - - - - - - - - -	——	50 0 0	50 0 0
Alice Martin - - - - - - - - -	——	50 0 0	50 0 0
Fredeswed Savory - - - - - - - -	10 Sept. 1791 -	40 0 0	30 0 0
—— Do. - - - - - - - - -	28 May 1814 -	15 0 0	11 5 0
Charlotte Tod - - - - - - - - -	10 Sept. 1791 -	30 0 0	22 10 0
—— Do. - - - - - - - - -	28 May 1814 -	15 0 0	11 5 0
Edw. Gale Boldero, *et. al.* in trust for Georgiana Lock - -	14 Aug. 1806 -	200 0 0	200 0 0
—— Do. —————— for Lucy Frances Lock -	——	200 0 0	200 0 0
—— Do. —————— for Emily Frederica Lock -	——	200 0 0	200 0 0
Earl of Chatham, *et. al.* in trust for Lady Griselda Tekel -	27 June 1806 -	600 0 0	600 0 0
Earl of Chatham, *et. al.* in trust for seven children of Lady Lucy Taylor, viz. - - - -			
William Stanhope Taylor - - - -	11 June 1814 -	139 10 0	139 10 0

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Sabina Hester Taylor - - - - -	11th June 1814	139	10	0	139	10	0
Thomas James Taylor - - - - -	——	139	10	0	139	10	0
Lucy Rachel Taylor - - - - -	——	139	10	0	139	10	0
Frances Ann Taylor - - - - -	——	139	10	0	139	10	0
Emily Agnes Taylor - - - - -	——	139	10	0	139	10	0
John Pitt Taylor - - - - - -	——	139	10	0	139	10	0
Sir Home Popham - - - - - - - -	21 Dec. 1799 -	500	0	0	426	12	7
Elizabeth Moffat Popham - - - - - - -	——	——			37	7	5
Earl of Chatham - - - - - - - -	25 Nov. 1761 -	3,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
Earl of Kinnoul (Perpetuity) - - - - - -	19 July 1672 -	750	0	0	1,250	0	0
Totals of PENSIONS - - - - -		7,076	10	0	7,514	0	0
Totals of SALARIES - - - - -		13,902	0	3¼	11,436	19	4
		£ 20,978	10	3¼	18,950	19	4
The AMOUNT remaining in the Exchequer at the end of each Year		£ 10,055	18	5½	9,741	13	8

Exchequer, the 16th day of June 1821.

WM. ROSE HAWORTH.

The Return, No. 178, of last Session, contains the names and regular home salaries, of all the governors, and lieutenant governors, of the West India Islands, and other official persons, paid out of the Four and Half per cent. fund, beginning with the Duke of Manchester, governor of Jamaica, £1500, the other governors £1200, and lieutenant-governors £600 each.

Paper referred to page 56.

EAST AND WEST INDIA TRADE.

Value of the Exports from Great Britain to the East Indies and China, for the years ending 5th January, 1814, to 5th January, 1823.

EAST INDIES AND CHINA.

Official Value.

British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.

	For. and Col. Merchandize.	Cottons.	Woollens.	Other Articles.	Total Exports.
	£	£	£	£	£
1814	The Records of this year were destroyed by fire.				
1815	224,684	78,197	656,543	736,980	1,696,404
1816	275,545	109,644	642,484	1,026,893	2,054,566
1817	334,795	142,867	556,770	1,151,209	2,185,641
1818	316,678	432,364	511,842	1,518,741	2,779,625
1819	502,529	698,983	604,421	1,379,817	3,185,750
1820	374,381	556,202	602,364	840,035	2,372,982
1821	294,360	1,138,722	808,142	1,031,587	3,272,811
1822	658,042	1,531,817	967,085	1,156,103	4,313,047
1823	317,625	1,640,984	795,549	1,132,792	3,886,950
			Declared Value.*		
1814	..	..	..	..	..
1815	224,684	109,487	1,084,434	1,140,428	2,559,033
1816	275,545	142,411	1,060,766	1,688,239	3,166,961
1817	334,795	160,724	1,027,251	1,855,988	3,378,758
1818	316,678	423,319	827,726	2,454,919	4,022,642
1819	502,529	701,348	943,185	2,216,921	4,363,983
1820	374,381	461,405	938,218	1,251,946	3,025,950
1821	294,360	850,906	1,348,464	1,493,798	3,987,528
1822	658,042	1,122,868	1,421,650	1,607,159	4,809,719
1823	317,625	1,147,393	1,080,229	1,544,339	4,089,586

* No Declaration of the Real Value of Foreign and Colonial Goods exported, being required by law, the Official Value is here substituted in the room thereof.

WEST INDIES.

Official Value.

British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.

	For. and Col. Merchandize.	Cottons.	Woollens.	Other Articles.	Total Exports.
1814	The Records of this year were destroyed by fire.				
1815	£329,748	£3,090,267	£253,872	£2,638,612	£6,312,499
1816	447,322	3,563,130	236,492	2,659,687	6,906,631
1817	265,676	2,071,444	158,320	2,109,632	4,605,072
1818	377,628	3,847,866	247,000	2,289,575	6,762,069
1819	267,737	2,813,915	234,578	2,468,324	5,784,554
1820	292,034	1,643,014	208,516	2,346,446	4,490,010
1821	308,821	1,757,772	144,804	2,141,117	4,352,514
1822	364,337	2,427,786	156,496	2,120,753	5,069,372
1823	239,733	1,817,984	177,311	1,911,435	4,146,463
		*Declared Value**.			
1814	—	—	—	—	—
1815	329,748	2,221,049	301,290	3,811,451	6,663,538
1816	447,322	2,581,362	307,651	3,756,752	7,093,087
1817	265,676	1,192,969	177,024	2,785,170	4,420,839
1818	377,628	2,139,760	277,986	3,008,419	5,803,793
1819	267,737	1,892,245	284,450	3,426,664	5,871,096
1820	292,034	1,083,816	250,459	3,120,707	4,747,016
1821	308,821	1,072,636	172,598	2,615,026	4,169,081
1822	364,337	1,303,466	177,471	2,504,116	4,349,390
1823	239,733	863,440	177,137	2,103,351	3,383,661

Value of the Exports from Great Britain to

JAMAICA.

Official Value.

	For. and Col. Merchandize.	Cottons.	Woollens.	Other Articles.	Total Exports.
1815	£162,652	£2,152,278	£152,796	£1,212,696	£3,660,422
1816	238,871	2,511,338	93,736	1,396,243	4,240,188

[1817

* No Declaration of the Real Value of Foreign and Colonial Goods exported, being required by law, the Official Value is here substituted in the room thereof.

1817	144,067	1,615,468	97,539	1,108,269	2,875,343
1818	251,944	3,148,422	180,760	1,153,599	4,734,725
1819	136,647	1,991,159	161,460	1,171,984	3,461,250
1820	142,888	1,150,548	150,187	1,111,312	2,554,935
1821	148,108	1,207,786	93,503	1,078,165	2,527,562
1822	238,177	1,927,353	116,000	1,171,012	3,452,542
1823	121,630	1,212,473	134,397	1,037,335	2,505,835
			*Declared Value**.		
1815	162,652	1,559,988	176,920	1,684,104	3,583,664
1816	238,871	1,745,738	124,747	1,859,961	3,969,317
1817	144,067	877,684	101,478	1,264,108	2,387,337
1818	251,944	1,677,566	196,196	1,416,378	3,542,084
1819	136,647	1,334,741	190,068	1,567,930	3,229,386
1820	142,888	760,797	175,758	1,408,397	2,487,840
1821	148,108	748,827	109,180	1,239,052	2,245,167
1822	238,177	1,023,316	131,318	1,304,543	2,697,354
1823	121,630	548,217	130,556	1,076,048	1,876,451

An Account of the Amount of British Merchandize Exported from the British West Indian Colonies to Foreign Settlements in the West Indies and America, in each year from that ending 5th January, 1814, to that ending 5th January, 1823—so far as the same can be ascertained from the Returns made to this Department.

BRITISH MERCHANDIZE EXPORTED FROM

Yrs.	*Jamaica.* No. of Blbs. Bales or Cases.	*Bahamas.* No. of Bbls. Bales or Cases.	*Trinidad, &c.* No. of Bbls. Bales or Cases.	*Total Exports.* No. of Bbls. Bales or Cases.
1814	—	—	—	—
1815	49,611	10,505	3,634	63,750
1816	49,820	6,155	4,629	60,667
1817	47,240	4,445	2,388	54,073
1818	44,631	8,614	1,449	54,694

* No Declaration of the Real Value of Foreign and Colonial Goods exported, being required by law, the Official Value is here substituted in the room thereof.

Yrs.	*Jamaica.* No. of Bbls. Bales or Cases.	*Bahamas.* No. of Bbls Bales or Cases.	*Trinidad, &c.* No. of Bbls. Bales or Cases.	*Total Exports.* No. of Bbls. Bales or Cases.
1819	35,358	6,379	1,105	42,842
1820	32,670	4,960	831	38,461
1821	36,139	4,511	729	41,379
1822	34,478	3,178	1,308	38,964
* 1823	26,283	2,588	642	29,513

WILLIAM IRVING,

Inspector-General of the Imports and

Exports of Great Britain.

Inspector-General's Office, Custom House,
London, 10th March, 1823.

ST. DOMINGO.

The following authentic account of the beginning of the insurrection in St. Domingo, is extracted from the Jamaica Gazette, of the year 1791. I subjoin it as attempts are every where making to mislead the public mind, by asserting that the Slaves did not emancipate themselves by force, but where emancipated without danger or bloodshed, by the French Government.

Jamaica Gazette, 1791.

On Wednesday last arrived in this town, from Cape François, in a French vessel dispatched on the occasion, Monsieur Bugnet, a Member of the General Assembly of the French part of Hispaniola, with the dreadful intelligence, that the negroe Slaves in that island have rose into open rebellion, and are carrying destruction and bloodshed throughout the country; in consequence whereof the white inhabitants, apprehensive they have not sufficient force to reduce them, have dispatched agents to all the neighbouring islands to solicit immediate assistance. M. Bugnet has brought letters to that purpose, both from M. Blanchelande, the Commander in Chief, and M. de Cadufch, the President of the Colonial Assembly, to his Excellency the Governor; and also a letter directed "To the Honourable Members of the General Assembly of Jamaica." The Assembly not being sitting, this last-mentioned letter was delivered to George French, Esq. the Clerk of the House, who having given notice

* Three Quarters ending 10th October.—*Parliamentary Paper, No.* 130.

thereof to such of the members as were in Spanish-Town, about eight of those gentlemen met on Thursday in the Assembly Room, and opened the letter, of which the following is a translation:

" 24th August, 1794.

" Honourable Gentlemen,

" The ruin of St. Domingo seems inevitable. In a short time, this beautiful country will be a heap of ashes: already the planters have bathed with their blood, that land which has been fertilized by the sweat of their brows. At this moment, the flames are consuming these productions which contribute to the splendour of the French empire. The desolaters of our properties have spread around us the flames of war: our own Slaves are armed for our destruction: that philosophy which gives consolation to man, is, with us, converted into despair.

" Without succour, and reaching the extremity of calamity, St. Domingo seeks for friends and protectors among the states that surround it. We say nothing of your own particular interest, endangered as it is by the same-spirit of delusive philanthropy, which, equally repugnant to *your* system of regulation as to ours, may occasion the same calamities among you as among us, if the evil is suffered to proceed to the utmost excess: we content ourselves only with appealing to that generosity which is the characteristic of your nation: we ask for assistance freely and with confidence.

" Prompted by this sentiment, the General Assembly of the French part of St. Domingo have deputed Mons. de Bugnet, one of its members, to lay our situation before you.

" He will produce, first, the charter of our constitution, which establishes our character as the legal representatives of the people of St. Domingo.

" Secondly, his commission.

" Thirdly, a proclamation for soliciting succour from our neighbouring powers.

" I have the honour to be, with the most cordial and fraternal attachment,

" Honourable Gentlemen,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
(Signed) " P. DE CADUSCH,

" *President of the General Assembly of the French part of St. Domingo.*

" *The Honourable Members of the General Assembly of Jamaica.*"

The account which M. Bugnet gives of this alarming revolt is shortly as follows: Early on the morning of the 23d ult. the negroes belonging to the plantation of M. Chabaud, situated four leagues to the westward of Cape François, rose on the white people, all of whom they instantly massacred, and then set fire to the buildings and canes; proceeding from thence towards the Cape, they were joined by the negroes of most of the intermediate plantations, which shared the same fate, the white people, or at least such of them as were not lucky enough to escape to the town,

being in like manner massacred. The whole of the day exhibited a scene of desolation and horror, the whites flying from all quarters into the town, and the rebels proceeding without interruption until they came within two miles of the Cape; it was supposed that their number was increased by the evening to about 1,500. In the mean time the inhabitants of the town, apprehending that the free people of colour were at the bottom of the conspiracy, took measures for securing all such of them as were within their reach; but the mulattoes surrendering without resistance, and delivering up their children as pledges of their sincerity, offered to go in pursuit of the rebels. Their offer, after some hesitation, was accepted, and 600 of them were embodied on the 24th, and, together with two companies of foot and a troop of horse, proceeded to meet the revolters, with whom they came up the same day on the Plain of the Cape, and after a short engagement put them to flight, killing more than one hundred on the spot, and taking about eighty prisoners, all of whom were immediately sent to the Cape, where they were put to death.

It is said that the savages had totally burnt and destroyed between fifty and sixty sugar-plantations, and killed a great many white people, the number of which was not precisely known before M. Bugnet sailed; and they were still in considerable force, but retreating towards the mountains, fires being still seen in all the parts of the country, so that there is reason to apprehend the revolt is general.

On receiving this intelligence, his Excellency postponed the Court of Chancery, and was yesterday in this town, in consultation, as we are informed, with Admiral Affleck and Major-General Williamson, at which M. Bugnet and some other French gentlemen were present; in consequence of which, it is reported, that permission is given to M. Bugnet to purchase arms, ammunition, and provisions. What further assistance will be given from hence, we are not informed.

JOSHUA STEELE, OF BARBADOES.

The following authentic particulars regarding Mr. STEELE were received when the present work was nearly all printed off. As his case has made a great noise among the African Institution writers, these particulars will be found interesting.

Mr. STEELE succeeded to Kendal Estate, Barbadoes, in right of his wife, Sarah Osborne, who had previously been married to Robert Osborne. Mr. STEELE went to Barbadoes in March 1780. He was owner of no other estate but KENDAL, which had been badly managed for some

years previous to 1780. Mr. Steele rented from Admiral SHIRLEY and his wife a plantation called BYDE MILL, immediately adjoining Kendal Estate. Mr. Steele was in extremely embarrassed circumstances, and afraid lest his estate and Slaves should be levied upon to pay his debts, he set himself to oppose and get altered the laws of the island, which authorized the sale of Slaves to pay the debts of their master. In this he did not succeed. His credit was so bad amongst the merchants, that he was frequently unable to procure supplies to his estate. Thus situated, he had recourse to his boasted "*copyhold system*," which, at the outset, was as follows:—

To each Slave of his *first* gang he allotted half an acre of land for his subsistence, requiring them to labour for him 260 days in the year, at $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per day. To the *second* gang he allotted a quarter of an acre of land to each, requiring them to labour for him 276 days in the year, at $5d.$ per day; for the *third* gang he paid over to the parents of each $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per week. For the children he *provided nothing*, and gave them no allowance. They were to be maintained and clothed by their parents till they entered the third gang. The aged and infirm were to have no wages, but to be left, if incapable of work for him, to work and feed themselves from their half acre of land; and if capable of a little light work, to receive $11\frac{1}{4}d.$ per week for it. This plan Mr. Steele afterwards altered, and at length finished the scheme, by settling the day's work to be ten hours, at the following wages—$\frac{3}{4}d.$ an hour for each negroe of the first gang—$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour for each negroe of the second gang—$7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per week for each negroe of the third gang—and $3\frac{3}{4}d.$ per week for each negroe of the fourth gang.

Mr. Steele charged the negroes at the rate of £3 per acre for the land allotted to them. They were not permitted to work upon any other estate, but were obliged to work upon his. His wages to an able negroe per annum was at the rate abovementioned, £8..2..6,; out of which the Slave was obliged to supply himself with implements, nay house-rent, food, clothing, *head levy* (3*s.*) fines (two day's wages for every day's absence) forfeitures, doctor's bills, &c.: so that any one who will take the trouble to calculate, will find that at the end of the year the Slave must have been indebted to his master. The present allowance of salt-fish to the negroes, two pounds per week, would amount to above one-fourth of their wages.*

* What doctors would charge a free negroe for annual attendance I know not. Their charge by the year (the cheapest mode) for a white

But this is not all—the Slaves were not paid in " the current coin" of the colony, as has been asserted. Mr. Steele got out from England copper coin, with which he paid their wages, and which not being current any where else, they were compelled to bring back to him in payment for every article of provisions, such as corn, grain, yams, eddoes, potatoes, rum, molasses, rice, salt, salt-fish, &c. which they purchased from him.

The system proved most ruinous to both the master and the Slaves. The latter rejoiced when the system to which they had been accustomed was restored.

The scribes of the African Institution tell us, that Mr. Steele was eighty years of age when he went to Barbadoes in 1780, at which rate he must have been ninety-seven when he died. The truth, I believe, is, that he was about sixty when he went out. By a coloured woman, *a Slave* belonging to *Byde Mill* plantation, which he rented, he had two children—a son and a daughter; he left them a considerable part of

person is about £6 sterling. But suppose they charged free negroes or copyhold negroes only *one fourth*, nay only what the master now pays annually for each negroe 6*s.* 6*d.*, which would be equal to 13*s.* for every negroe, in Mr. Steel's mode of arrangement. Suppose the doctor only charged at this rate, let us see how the affairs of Mr. Steele's negroes would stand at the end of the year:—

CR.		DR.			
1st Gang wages.....	£8 2 6	Rent land	£1	10	0
		Doctor's bill	0	13	0
		House rent, only ..	1	0	0
		Clothing.....	1	0	0
		Blankets, hoes, &c..	0	15	0
		Salt-fish, 100 lbs. ..	1	15	6
		Beef and Pork, 8 lbs.	0	6	6
		Food, say only	4	0	0
		Head levy	0	3	0
			£11	3	0

By such a dreadful system the stoutest and ablest negroes must either be on debt, starve or steal, while the less able, the young, the aged and the infirm, must be placed in a state of the greatest misery. Really it is an insult to the understanding of a country like this, to have such a system held up as worthy of imitation. Besides there are many other items which Slaves now get from their masters (see preceding pages of this work) the value of which it is impossible to estimate, and which are accordingly omitted.

his property, but he left them *all Slaves:* the following is a copy of his will:—

Barbadoes.

" In the name of God, amen. I, *Joshua Steele*, of sound mind, do make this my last will and testament, as follows—I give and bequeath my estates of every sort to my sister, *Mary Ann Steele*, and my two children, Catharine Steele and Edward Steele, but not so as to become the property of any other person claiming in right of my said children, *who are now Slaves*, but for their own proper benefit, and not otherwise. I give unto my nephew, *Samuel Steele*, fifteen hundred pounds sterling, and the further sum of three hundred pounds per annum during his life; *interlined* { and to Thomas Bell one thousand pounds, for the use of his children.

I do hereby nominate and appoint my present overseer, *Francis Bell*, and my nephew, Samuel Steele, executors of this my last will; hereby revoking all others. Witness my hand and seal, this twenty-third day of October 1796.

(Signed) " JOSHUA STEELE." (L.S.)

When the different *dashing* statements regarding Mr. Steele's copyhold system made their appearance in this country, no time was lost in making the necessary inquiries into their truth, from persons acquainted with Barbadoes, or at present residing in it. I annex the following letter from the Attorney-General of the Island to *Joseph W. Jordan*, Esq. London.

" *Barbadoes*, *August* 1, 1823.

" DEAR SIR,

" I am now to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 12th ult. by which you refer to me for information with respect to *Mr. Steele* and a *Mr. Dickson*, whose names are again brought forward to our prejudice, in the recent attempt to ruin us, by emancipating our Slaves. Of Dickson I had never even heard, till my return to Barbadoes early in the year 1779, after an absence of nearly seven years in England. I found there was a man of that name making some noise in the country. He had been an obscure man, and had lost an arm by the bursting of a cannon, which he was firing at some public rejoicing. He had possessed a few Slaves, whom he *had treated cruelly*, and had got rid of them, either voluntarily or by compulsion, and then he set himself up as *a violent opposer of slavery*, and published several things against the inhabitants, some of which were true, and others grossly false.

" I knew something of Mr. Steele in England. About two years after my return he came to the Island, and immediately *retained* me as one of his counsel, so that I became well acquainted with him and his views. Although his plantation was a very fine one, it had not been well managed, and he was involved in debt. He dreaded lest his negroes should be taken from him; he therefore set himself up to oppose the law which allows Slaves to be attached for debt, and carried from off the soil. He was also desirous of avoiding the payment of his debts, and he set him-

self up in opposition to all the laws of the Island. At a Court of Grand Sessions, at which he was foreman of the grand jury, he presented Hall's Statute Book of the Laws of the Island as a nuisance, declared that not one of our laws was in force, and insisted that they were all repugnant to the laws of England.

Mr. Steele instituted what he called a copyhold system for the management of his plantation. His Slaves were to be paid hire for the work they did. He allowed them a small pittance for every hour that they worked, but they paid for every thing—house rent, doctor's attendance, medicine, clothes and food, and, in short, every thing they desired to have, he supplied them with, and deducted the price out of their hire. *They had not the option* of working, or letting it alone. They were obliged to work, and upon his plantation; if they did not, he not only stopped their hire, but they were punished either by flogging or imprisonment. Mr. Steele soon found that it was by far the cheapest way of managing the plantation.

" I was surprised to see it asserted lately in print, that his plantation succeeded well under that management. *I know it to be false*—it failed considerably; and had he lived a few years longer, he would not have died worth a farthing. Upon his death they reverted to the old system, to which the Slaves readily and willingly returned; the plantation now succeeds, and the Slaves are contented and happy, and think themselves much better off than under the copyhold system, for their wages would not afford them many comforts which they have now.

" I have been so long used to the clamour and base abuse against us, as to have become callous to them. I feel for my children and grandchildren, but with me the game is nearly up, and nothing can happen very distressing in my time.

(Signed) " JOHN BECKLES."

Such are the schemes, and such the plans, upon which Great Britain and her Legislature are called upon to found the new system to improve —to ruin the Colonies, and all connected with them. I could add other documents of a similar nature, but deem it unnecessary.

FINIS.

LONDON.
PRINTED BY BRICKWOOD, 47, THREADNEEDLE-STREET.